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## COMMUNISM

### THE UNITED FRONT IN COMMUNIST CHINA

May 1957

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## **THE UNITED FRONT IN COMMUNIST CHINA**

**A technique for controlling, mobilizing, and utilizing  
non-Communist masses**

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## FOREWORD

At the end of the text of this compilation will be found:

1. A listing of the abbreviations used in this text and the organizations for which they stand showing the page in the text where they are described and their officials named. (See Appendix A.)

2. An alphabetical tabulation of Chinese named in this compilation (non-Chinese are not included). This list shows the organizations and activities within the framework of this compilation with which the persons named are connected. (See Appendix B.)

The alphabetical tabulation is not to be considered as providing full biographical data. It is intended only to indicate the relations of leaders with the organizations and activities with which this compilation is concerned. In only a few instances have the connections of individuals with organs of the Chinese Communist Party or the Chinese People's Government been included. Membership in the executive or central committees of the various political parties, All China federations, and front organizations appears only when such membership is held by persons listed for other reasons within the scope of this paper.

Use of the alphabetical tabulation in conjunction with the list of abbreviated organizational titles will enhance its usefulness. For example, the list of abbreviations shows ACFLAC as the code used for the All China Federation of Literature and Art Circles discussed (together with its leaders, who are named) on page 44. Page 45 shows KUO Mo-jo as chairman of the ACFLAC. A reference to KUO in the alphabetical listing, will show his other connections with organizations discussed in this compilation. Although some of the organizations coded after KUO's name are not included in this compilation (WPC — World Peace Council; Japan FA — China-Japan Friendship Association), the identity of these organizations may be determined from the list of abbreviations; and the scope of KUO's participation in non-CCP, non-government activities will be indicated. It should be understood that the organizations shown after each name represent only those more important ones with which the individual is known to be associated.

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## INTRODUCTION

How is the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), an organization of less than 11,000,000 members (approximately 1.8 percent of the population of China), able to control so effectively non-Communist masses in excess of 600,000,000 and to mobilize them in support of its important domestic and foreign programs?

Like other Communist parties in power, the CCP relies heavily on state security organs. Thus far these organs have been successful in overcoming internal resistance to Chinese Communism. The CCP is not satisfied, however, with preventive measures alone. It is endeavoring to enlist more positive forces in support of the internal security system. The CCP is seeking not only to protect itself from the non-Communist masses but also to mobilize the energies of these masses in support of its foreign and domestic policies. For this reason it has organized a vast and complex network of unofficial (non-Party, non-government) organs. The name given to this network is the united front.

This paper explains what is meant by the united front and describes its various component organizations in terms of their functions, subordination to the CCP, and key personalities. In a subsequent paper the role of the united front and of the persons involved in extending Chinese Communist influence abroad and in conducting international relations will be discussed. Specifically, the participation of the united front components in the world Communist movement and their relations with non-Communist countries will be described.

Only Chinese Communist sources have been used in preparing this compilation. They consist chiefly of press releases and radio broadcasts.

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## PART I

### THE UNITED FRONT IN COMMUNIST CHINA

#### *The Communist Concept of a United Front*

According to the traditional Communist concept, a united national front is a coalition of a Communist Party and other political parties having at least some objectives consistent with the immediate aims of the Communist Party. Such a coalition must be subject to immediate or eventual control by the Communist Party. In industrial countries united fronts usually include labor and socialist parties, whereas in agrarian countries the Communist Party allies itself with nationalist and peasant bodies.

The united front serves a twofold purpose. It enables the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to gain organized, non-Communist support for its so-called minimum program. It also provides the Communist Party with a screen behind which its members can penetrate and eventually gain control of the united front's non-Communist affiliates.

#### *The CCP's Use of the United Front*

Since it was founded in 1921, the CCP has used the united front to establish a foothold among the masses, undermine the influence of other political parties, defeat the warlords, gain support of the victims of Japanese aggression, and aid in the seizure of state power. Since forming a government in 1949, the CCP has employed the united front to extend its control over the non-Communist masses and to mobilize these masses in support of its foreign and domestic programs.

#### *The CPPCC — Organization of the United Front*

The basic structure in the united front is the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). Chart 1 is an organizational chart of the CPPCC. The first full session of the CPPCC was convened by the CCP on 21 September 1949 for the purpose of forming a "coalition" government. It was

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attended by more than 600 delegates representing various political parties, mass organizations, geographical regions, overseas Chinese, the "People's Liberation Army," and ex-KMT members. Its composition and the fact that less than a third of the delegates were CCP members gave the CPPCC the appearance of being a truly representative body having broad non-Communist support. The CPPCC was not, however, as broadly based or as representative as it appeared. The directive of its preparatory committee defining qualifications for representation in the CPPCC excluded automatically all those not in basic agreement with the CCP's so-called minimum or "common" program.

Almost immediately after it had been convened, the first CPPCC adopted unanimously the basic Chinese Communist proclamations, which, taken together, served as the law of the land until 1954, when a formal constitution was enacted. These documents identified the CPPCC as the organization of the united front, empowered to enact or amend laws, elect the Central People's Government Council, and submit resolutions concerning policies or measures of the Central People's Government Council. However, because the first CPPCC adjourned on 30 September 1949 and never again met in plenary session, it obviously never exercised these powers. Between 1949 and 1953 the CPPCC National Committee met four times and was used by the government to place the popular stamp of approval on important regulations, laws, and decisions.

Since 1954, when a National People's Congress was elected and a full-fledged constitution adopted, the CPPCC has had no legislative powers. It remains, however, the organization of the united front. In January 1956 the second CPPCC was convened, and subsequently resolutions defining its new role were adopted. According to these resolutions, the CPPCC is charged with the responsibility for indoctrinating its non-Communist affiliates and publicizing important government and party programs.

*Components of the United Front*

The basic components of the united front (and, therefore, of the CPPCC) are identified in the Preamble to the Constitution of the government of Communist China as "democratic parties, classes, and people's organizations." For all intents and purposes the "democratic classes" have been absorbed by the "democratic parties" and "people's organizations."

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The "democratic parties" are non-Communist, urban, political groups, most of which came into being during the 1940's and capitulated to the CCP shortly before or upon its seizure of state power. For the purposes of this paper, "people's organizations" have been divided into All China federations and other unofficial fronts. The All China federations have been formed by the Communists to mobilize all elements of the population not already organized by the CCP, the government, or the military. Membership in an All China federation is limited to those in a particular social, professional, economic, vocational, or religious group. For example, only members of the laboring class are admitted to the All China Federation of Trade Unions.

Fronts other than the All China federations have been formed by the CCP to implement important domestic or foreign propaganda programs. Membership in the fronts cuts across the lines which are used to determine the composition of the All China federations. For example, the Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (ACRFC) was formed by the CCP to stimulate cultural exchanges with non-Communist countries. Among its members are leading figures in many of the All China federations and non-Communist political parties.

#### *Control of the United Front*

It is clear that the united front of non-Communist parties, All China federations, and other fronts is firmly under CCP control — specifically, the control of its Central Committee. Without exception the non-Communist parties have acknowledged and frequently reaffirmed their subordination to the Central Committee and the Chinese Communist program. The presence of CCP members who are responsible to the Central Committee at all levels of the "people's organizations" assures Central Committee control of these organizations.\*

Because the Central Committee meets so infrequently, it is also clear that control of the united front is exercised by one or more of its organs. It is difficult to determine which of these organs controls the united front or, if more than one is involved, how the control is divided.

\* According to the Constitution adopted by the CCP at its 8th Party Congress, party members in the leading organs of "people's organizations" must obey the competent CCP committees — in this case the Central Committee — for the "people's organizations" are national in character.

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The range, variety, and importance of united front activities, the great mass of people involved, and the emergence of new Central Committee organs suggest that the control is probably divided among the United Front, Propaganda, and perhaps other departments of the Central Committee.

Policy statements on united front activity are frequently published in the name of the United Front Department (UFD) by its Director, LI Wei-han; and it appears that this department has primary responsibility for directing the non-Communist parties. The leading roles of the UFD Director and one of his deputy directors as, respectively, first vice-chairman and secretary general of the CPPCC suggest that the UFD also supervises this organization of the united front.

No announcement concerning organization and personnel of the United Front Department was made during or since the 8th Chinese Communist Party Congress in September 1956, but LI Wei-han was identified as director of the UFD when he addressed the Congress on 25 September 1956. Little has ever been publicly announced concerning the organizational structure or personnel except for references to the director and his deputies. Latest reports on the organization date back to 1951, at which time the existence of three bureaus was reported. The First Bureau had three divisions. The First Division consisted of five subdivisions with responsibilities for guidance of the non-Communist political parties and for so-called democratic non-partisans. The Second Division had four subdivisions: one responsible for internal mass organizations, another for external or overseas Chinese organizations, a third for ethnic minorities, and the last for religious groups. The Third Division was concerned with external liaison through international Communist fronts and delegations sent abroad. The Second Bureau had three divisions: Intelligence, Investigation and Research, and Communications. The Third Bureau was concerned with administrative matters, files and records, and security. There were United Front Departments in the regional Party bureaus and UFD representatives down to the lower party units. Whether the UFD still retains this organizational structure is not known.

Control of the All China Democratic Women's Federation is probably in the hands of the recently identified Women's Department of the Central Committee. It is possible that departments

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corresponding to other All China federations, especially the large and important ones, have been or will be created by the Central Committee.

The nature of their activities and the presence in their leading organs of CCP propaganda specialists indicate that many of the other fronts are directed by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee.

In the sections which follow the basic components of the united front — i. e., the non-Communist parties, All China federations, and other fronts — are described in terms of their origin, composition, subordination to the CCP, functions on behalf of the CCP, and leading personalities. Highlights on each of the organizations affiliated with the united front appear in the appendix to Part I.

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APPENDIX TO PART I

HIGHLIGHTS ON PARTIES, MASS ORGANIZATIONS, AND FRONTS IN COMMUNIST CHINA

<u>ORGANIZATION</u>	<u>FOUNDED</u>	<u>CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>EXECUTIVES</u>	<u>INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATIONS</u>
CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (CCP)	Circa 1920	10,730,000 (September 1956).	Chairman— MAO Tse-tung Secretary General— TENG Hsiao-peng	USSR/Other CP's.
CPPCC STANDING COMMITTEE	1949	665 delegates (1955).	Chairman— CHOU En-lai Secretary General— HSING Hsi-ping	Not relevant.
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC)	1954	1,226 delegates (2nd session, 1956).	Chairman— MAO Tse-tung Secretary General— LI Wei-han	Diplomatic relations with 28 countries as of 15 May 1957.
NPC STANDING COMMITTEE (NPCSC)	1954	80 members; of which 13 vice chairmen.	Chairman— LIU Shao-ch'i Secretary General— PENG Chen	Not relevant.

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<u>ORGANIZATION</u>	<u>FOUNDED</u>	<u>CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>EXECUTIVES</u>	<u>INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATIONS</u>
CHINESE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE (YCL). Predecessor (Socialist Youth of China) founded 1920. China New Democratic Youth League (CNDYL) name adopted 1946. Present title, YCL, adopted 1957.	1920	23,000,000 (May 1957); 470,000 branches.	Secretary of the Secretariat— HU Yao-pang Secretary General— LO I	WFDY. Komsomol (USSR).
YOUNG PIONEERS	Pre-1949	Over 30,000,000 (May 1957) out of 76,000,000 eligible.	Chairman— Deputy Chairman— CHEN Lien (F)	Possibly via YCL with USSR and Satellites.
CHINA DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE (CDL)	1941	86 branches — as of July 1953 had grown 275% since 1950.	Chairman— SHEN Chun-ju Secretary General— HU Yu-chih	Branches in SEA.
KUOMINTANG REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE (KMTRC)	1945	As of February 1956 had grown 650% over 1950. 400 committeemen in Shanghai (April 1956) in liaison with 2,000 ex-KMT leaders.	Chairman— LI Chi-shen Secretary General— MEI Kung-pin	Possibly branches in SEA.
CHINA DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION ASSOCIATION (CDNCA)	1945	Over 2,000 in Shanghai (July 1956) doubled over 1955. Industrialists, businessmen, and their dependents.	Chairman— HUANG Yen-pei Secretary General— SUN Ch'i-meng	None known.
CHINA PEASANTS AND WORKERS DEMOCRATIC PARTY (CPWDP)	1931	Not reported. Probably few actual "peasant" or "workers" members.	Chairman— CHANG Po-chun Secretary General— HUANG Ch'i-hsiang	None known.

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ORGANIZATION	FOUNDED	CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP	EXECUTIVES	INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATIONS
CHINA ASSOCIATION FOR PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY (CAPD)	1946	Doctors, economists, lawyers, sportsmen, writers, scientists, teachers (69%), cultural, educational workers. Claimed 33% growth in 5 months prior to August 1956 and total 19 times greater than 1950.	Chairman— MA Hsu-lun Secretary General— HSU Kuang-ping (f)	None known.
CHIH KUNG TANG (CKT)	1944	Returned overseas Chinese.	Chairman— CHEN Chi'yu Secretary General— CHENG T'ien-pao	Possibly with CKT, particularly in US, Latin America.
CHIU SAN SOCIETY (CSS)	1944	Intellectuals.	Chairman— HSU Te-heng Secretary General— T'U Ch'ang-wang	None known.
TAIWAN DEMOCRATIC SELF-GOVERNMENT LEAGUE (TDSGL)	1947	Taiwanese.	Chairman— HSIEN Hsueh-hung (f) Secretary General— CHIANG Shih-ch'ien	Possibly in Taiwan. None reported.
SINO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION (SSFA)	1949	58,000,000 (1954). 1,830 branches, 213,150 sub-branches.	Chairman— Mme. SUNG Mei-ling Secretary General— CH'EN Chün-jui	USSR-China FA.
AC FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (ACFTU)	1925	Over 14,000,000 (1957); 12,600,000 (New York Times, 27 August 1956).	Chairman— LAI Jo-yu Secretary General— TUNG Hsin or CHANG Hsiu-chu	WFTU - Asia-Pacific TU Congress.



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ORGANIZATION	FOUNDED	CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP	EXECUTIVES		
AC DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S FEDERATION (ACDWF)	Pre-1949	76,000,000 (1953).	Chairman— TS'AI Ch'ang Secretary General— CHANG Y'un	WIDF.	
AC FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH (ACFDY)	1949	7,600,000 (1953)	Chairman— LIAO Ch'eng-chih Secretary General— TU Ch'ien	WFDY.	
AC FEDERATION OF STUDENTS (ACFS)	1949	3,290,000 (1953).	Chairman— HU Ch'i-li Secretary General— HSIEH Pang-ting (f)	IUS.	
AC FEDERATION OF INDUSTRY & COMMERCE ASSOCIATIONS (ACFICA)	1953	Not reported.	Chairman— CH'EN Shu-tung Secretary General— SHA Ch'ien-li	None known.	
AC UNION OF COMMERCE (ACUC)	Pre-1955	Not reported.	Chairman— CHANG Ch'ing-ch'un	None known.	
AC FEDERATION OF LITERATURE AND ART CIRCLES (ACFLAC)	1949	Not reported but believed large in numbers.	Chairman— KUO Mo-jo Secretary General— YANG Han-sheng	None known.	
AC FEDERATION OF JOURNAL- ISTS (ACFJ). Also known as AC Journalists Association.	Circa 1949	Claimed 10,000 (1949). Not reported since.	Chairman— TENG T'o Secretary General— WU Leng-hsi	IOJ.	

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<u>ORGANIZATION</u>	<u>FOUNDED</u>	<u>CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>EXECUTIVES</u>	<u>INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATIONS</u>
AC FEDERATION OF RETURNED OVERSEAS CHINESE (FROC)	June 1956	Not reported. Probably quite extensive.	Chairman— TAN Kah-kee Secretary General— CHUANG Ming-li	None known.
UNION OF CHINESE WRITERS (UCW)	Circa 1949	Not reported.	Chairman— MAO Tun (SHEN Yen-pang) Secretary General— CH'EN Pai-ch'en	Not reported.
AC FEDERATION OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES (ACFSS)	1954	50,000 claimed (1952).	Chairman— LI Ssu-kuang Secretary General— YEN Chi-tzu	WFSW.
AC FEDERATION OF MEDICAL SOCIETIES (ACFMS)		15,000 (July 1956).	Chairman— FU Lien-chang Secretary General— FANG Shih-shan	World Congress of Doc- tors (WCD).
POLITICAL SCIENCE & LAW ASSOCIATION (PSLA)	1949	Probably relatively small.	Chairman— TUNG Pi-wu Secretary General— CHU Ch'i-wen	IADL.
AC FEDERATION OF COOPS (ACFC)	1949	20,000,000 (August 1950); 38,- 000 branches.	Chairman— CHENG Tzi-hua	None reported.
AC SPORTS FEDERATION (ACSF)	June 1952	Not reported.	Chairman— MA Yüeh-han Secretary General— CHANG Lien-hua	International Olympic Committee; other inter- national sports groups.

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ORGANIZATION	FOUNDED	CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP	EXECUTIVES
INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATIONS			
CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS CIRCLES (CRC)		Not reported.	Chairman— WU Yao-tung Secretary General— KAO Shang-yen
World Contact with World Council of Churches re- established September 1956.			
CHINA ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION (CISA)	1952	Estimates show about 10,- 000,000 Moslems in Commu- nist China.	Chairman— BURHAN (PAO Ehr-han) Secretary General— CHANG Chieh
World Islam Organiza- tion "Islamic Congress" (organized 1955 in Cairo).			
CHINA BUDDHIST ASSOCIA- TION (CBA)	Nov. 1952	Not reported.	Chairman— Hsi-jao-chia-to (Shirob Galtso) Secretary General— CHAO P'u-ch'u
World Fellowship of Buddhists.			
CHINA PEACE COMMITTEE (CPC)	Nov. 1950	Mass membership. 400,000,- 000 signatures to Vienna ap- peal claimed.	Chairman— KUO Mo-jo Secretary General— LIU Kuan-i
WPC.			
ASSOCIATION FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES (ACRFC)	May 1954	Cross section of persons in other organizations and fronts.	Chairman— CH'U T'u-nan Secretary General— CHEN Chung-ching
Dealings with counter- parts in non-Soviet bloc countries. Deals with Friendship Associations.			
CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (PIFA)	Dec. 1949	Small (200-300 members).	Chairman— CHANG Hsi-jo Secretary General— WU Mao-sun
International relations but no specific affilia- tions known.			

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<u>ORGANIZATION</u>	<u>FOUNDED</u>	<u>CLAIMED MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>EXECUTIVES</u>	<u>INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATIONS</u>
CHINA COMMITTEE FOR PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE (CCPIT)	May 1952	Not reported. Probably relatively small.	Chairman— NAN Han-chen Secretary General— CHI Ch'ao-ting	ICPT.
ASIAN SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE OF CHINA (ASC)	Feb. 1956	Not reported. Probably relatively small, composed of usual frontiers.	Chairman— KUO Mo-jo Secretary General— LIU Ning-i	ASC (New Delhi).
CHINA PEOPLE'S PARLIAMENTARY GROUP (CPPG)	July 1955	Not reported but probably small in numbers.	Chairman— PENG Chen Secretary General— WU K'o-ch'ien	Seeking membership in Interparliamentary Union.
ASSOCIATION FOR DISSEMINATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE (ADSTK)	Sept. 1950	18,000 members in 1952. Audience of 11,000,000. An NCNA item 25 August 1956 claimed 6,000 members (growth over 50% in previous year).	Chairman— CHEN I Secretary General— LIN Han-ta	None.
NATIONAL ILLITERACY ELIMINATION ASSOCIATION (NIEA)	March 1956	Not reported. Probably large to include all instructors but not the illiterate themselves.	Chairman— CHEN I Secretary General— LIN Han-ta	None.
ASSOCIATION ON MOSLEM CULTURE	1952	Not reported. Probably offshoot of Islamic Association.	Chairman— LIU Ko-p'ing	None known.
SINO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION (SSFA)	1950	Claim 50,000,000 members.	Chairman— LIN Po-chu Secretary General— CH'EN Chün-jui	USSR-China Friendship Association.

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## PART II

### NON-COMMUNIST POLITICAL PARTIES

#### *A. Background*

With the exception of the Chih Kung Tang, which originated in the early 17th century, and of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, formed in 1927, the non-Communist parties were organized during the turbulent decade which preceded the seizure of power by the CCP. All of them were based on nationalism and a desire for a new and better China; all were highly idealistic. Completely urban in character, they consisted mostly of scholars, intellectuals, businessmen, and others who were professionally trained. In terms of ideology, total membership, and general support, none could compare with either the Kuomintang (KMT) or the Chinese Communist Party; none had military components.

During the political skirmishing which followed the defeat of the Japanese, these parties stood midway between the KMT and the CCP, often assuming the role of mediator and offering those who found fault with the regime in power an alternative to joining the Communists.

When the civil war was resumed and the tide of battle shifted in favor of the Communists, these parties lost their bargaining position and accepted the invitation of the CCP to participate in the formation of a coalition government. Although the Communists dominated the government which was eventually formed, representatives of the other parties were appointed to a number of the less sensitive posts.

Since 1949 the memberships of the non-Communist parties (now often referred to as "satellite parties") have greatly expanded but are still under firm CCP control. Recent statements from Peking insist that their ranks will increase still further, and a period of long-term coexistence with the CCP has been forecast.

In referring to these non-Communist parties, the Chinese Communists most commonly call them "democratic" parties, which

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wording is included in the titles given most of them. The appendix to Part II presents the Chinese Communist version of these parties and their functions.

*B. Functions*

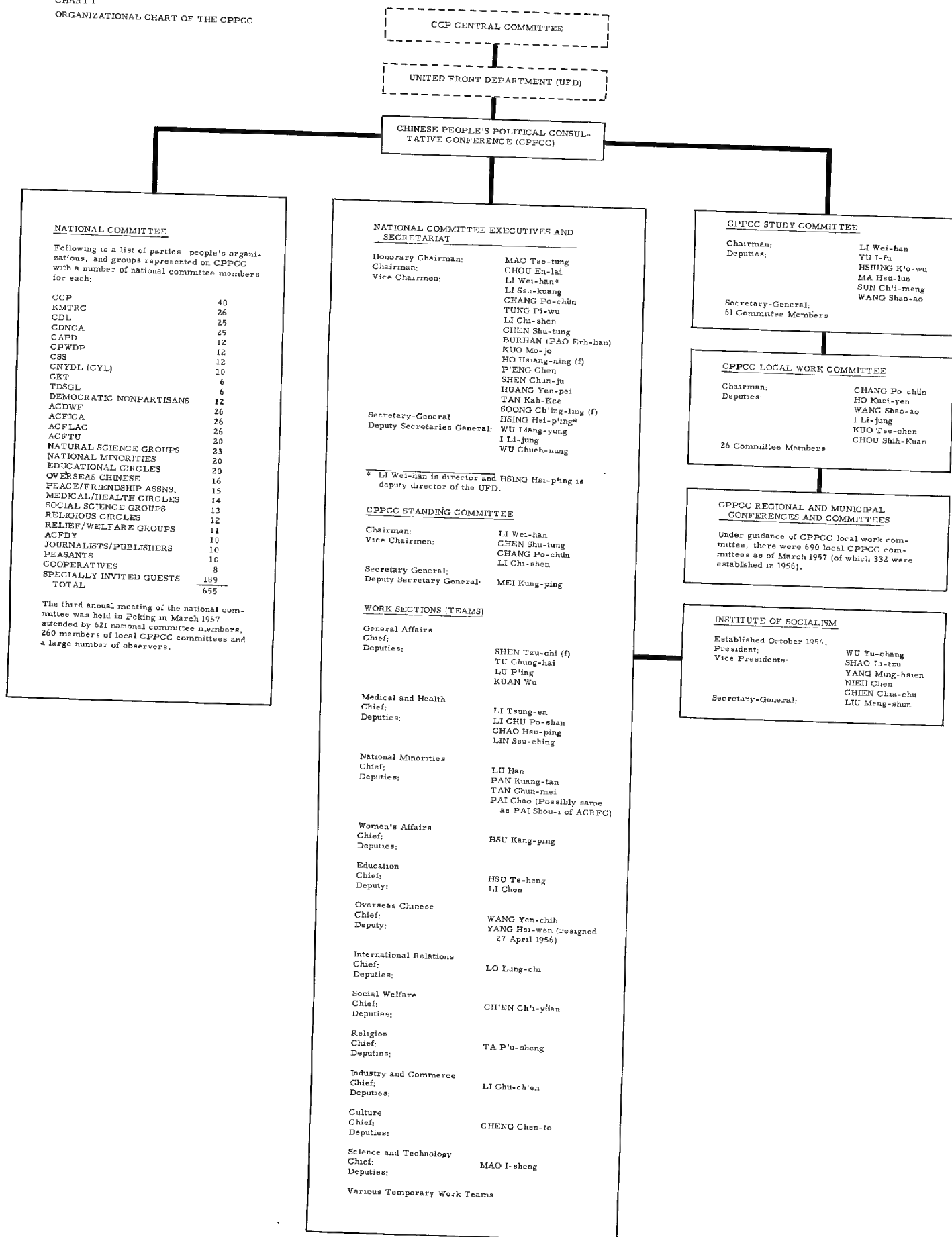
The non-Communist parties have been retained and encouraged by the CCP to expand because of their urban character. They provide the CCP, which is a predominantly peasant party, with access to urban scientists, businessmen, educators, Chinese returned from overseas, and intellectuals whose skills are needed to handle the complex technical and administrative problems with which the Communists are faced. The non-Communist parties are also important to the CCP for security reasons; they provide the Communists with a ready-made means for identifying and controlling non-Communists who are politically articulate and hence potentially dangerous.

Their primary function on behalf of the CCP is to organize the intelligentsia and non-Communists of importance in all major cities of China. The United Front Department has assigned each party a specific organizational target. This fact was confirmed by an editorial appearing in the 24 January 1951 issue of the *People's Daily*, official organ of the CCP Central Committee. The editorial stated that the non-Communist parties had recently held simultaneous meetings at which organizational development was stressed as the primary task and that "... in full conformity with their own historical background ... these conferences appropriately decided on their respective specific targets of organizational development. Thus the KMT Revolutionary Committee decided to adopt public functionaries who are presently in office, and in particular the former KMT members among them, as its principal organizational target ... ; the China Democratic League decided to adopt intellectuals of cultural and educational circles ... as its principal targets ... ; the Democratic National Construction Association decided, in the main, to go after the middle and small elements in national industry and commerce as well as to reach out to all kinds of trades and crafts." Because targets assigned to each are not mutually exclusive, the memberships and tasks of the various non-Communist parties overlap.

The same editorial stated that the non-Communist parties would limit their organizing activities to the major cities. This

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ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE CPPCC

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principle was spelled out in most of the separate party declarations, some of which specifically rejected the possibility of working in the small cities. The most important implication of this declared principle is that the overwhelming mass of the Chinese population in the countryside is not to become an organizational target for any of the non-Communist parties.

The non-Communist parties are also responsible for indoctrinating the intellectuals in Communist ideology and mobilizing their support for the CCP's important domestic and foreign programs. In 1950 the United Front Department of the CCP initiated study conferences for senior cadres. Joint training classes for lower level personnel of the various parties were instituted in the larger cities during the same year. Personnel of the non-Communist parties are regularly "invited" to attend symposia held by government offices for study of the latest government (party) directives. Statements by their central committees that they are Marxist/Leninist parties indicates the extent to which indoctrination has been achieved.

Every major CCP or government policy pronouncement is immediately endorsed by statements issuing from the leaders of the various non-Communist parties and, when required, these statements are followed by actions designed to execute the policy.

### *C. Subordination to the CCP*

Obviously what the Chinese Communists call political parties are not to be confused with political parties in the accepted, democratic sense — i. e., organizations seeking to influence or control the government by means of competitive appeals to an electorate. The competition which characterizes the activities and aims of political parties in a free society is nonexistent in China. Without exception the non-Communist parties have publicly acknowledged their subservience to the CCP, willingly accepted assignments from the CCP United Front Department, adopted the CCP's program as their own without the slightest sign of independence of action, and admitted Communists into their own ranks. There is also some reason to suspect that some persons posing as members of one or another non-Communist party are actually clandestine members of the CCP. Under continuous pressure from the CCP, even the capacity for developing autonomous programs of action has been lost.

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*D. Membership*

Although Peking has announced the rates at which the various non-Communist parties have expanded (in June 1956 a Peking radio broadcast stated that their memberships had expanded some 400% since 1949), statistical data on their total membership have not been released. The relatively small number of urban intellectuals in China, the CCP's monopoly of the peasantry, and the fact that the organizing activities of the parties have been limited to the major cities suggest that the non-Communist parties have relatively low membership ceilings. It will be remembered that the membership of the CCP was announced at the 8th CCP Congress in September 1956 as being 10,700,000, certainly many times the total of all the non-Communist parties.

Details on the geographic distribution of membership are also lacking, although it is known that all parties except the Chih Kung Tang (CKT) and the Taiwan Democratic Self Government League (TDSGL) have at least pilot organizations in most of China's larger cities. The KMT Revolutionary Committee (KMTRC) and the China Democratic League (CDL) are known to have organizations in Vietnam, Malaya, and Indonesia, and possibly in Burma.

Within mainland China a rough north-south line can be drawn among the non-Communist parties. Historically, the KMT Revolutionary Committee, the China Democratic National Construction Association (CDNCA), and the Chih Kung Tang were strongest in the south. Several KMT Revolutionary Committee leaders were once influential figures in the southeastern coastal provinces, and many China Democratic National Construction Association leaders were members of industrial and commercial circles in Shanghai. The continuing importance of the KMT and CDNCA south of the Yellow River is evidenced by the fact that several of their leaders hold posts in the provincial and municipal administrations in that area. The less important Chih Kung Tang, which recruits among Chinese with overseas connections, is generally restricted to southerners and its membership is largely concentrated in Kwangtung and Fukien, the provinces in which most Chinese emigration has originated. The Chih Kung Tang, which has its headquarters in Canton, is the only non-Communist party that does not have its central offices in Peking.

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The China Democratic League, by contrast, seems to have a preponderance of northerners, perhaps because its membership is composed largely of professors and writers who have long regarded the north as the cultural center of China.

*E. China Democratic League (CDL)*

Founded in 1941 as the Democratic Groups League, it is a consolidation of the "Association of Comrades in the War of Resistance and National Construction" and the "China Democratic Parties Alliance." Its present title was adopted in 1944. Many members of smaller political parties during the period from 1941 to date have also been members of the CDL, and some of the smaller groups have been completely absorbed into the CDL. Dissolved in October 1947 by edict of the KMT, its leaders moved to Hong Kong where it reestablished headquarters and announced its anti-KMT and pro-Communist policy. Its members worked actively in concert with the Chinese Communists in subversion on the mainland up to 1949, when the Communists gained control. Then its headquarters moved to Peking and the CDL has since been one of the leading satellites in the united front.

The Chinese Communists say the CDL "has close contacts with the intelligentsia." Its membership is drawn largely from those presently or in the past connected with the fields of culture and education. Chinese Communist announcements say 19.3% of the membership are members of the faculty and staff of higher institutes of learning, 26.7% from middle schools, and 12.7% from primary schools. Its membership is claimed to have grown 276% from 1950 to March 1956. As of April 1956 it had branches in 86 cities in Communist China. Many of its members are drawn from the fields of law, journalism, and finance. The membership of the former National Salvation Association (Chuo Kuo Hui) appears to have been completely absorbed into the CDL by 1950. Because of its dissolution by the KMT in 1947 and the flight of its leaders from China, many of its present members spent considerable time outside the mainland of China, particularly in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, which would account for the existence of CDL branches overseas. CHANG Lan, first head of CDL and now deceased, was assigned important positions in the original CPG structure.

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CDL has played a leading role, under the Chinese Communist Party, in the CPPCC, and many of its members in the period 1949-1954 held high posts in the CPG. Its members still hold a large portion of the important government positions in China assigned to non-Communists, and there is little if anything to distinguish between the doctrines of the CDL and CCP.

There is considerable evidence that there are branches of the CDL in Southeast Asia, particularly in Malaya, Indonesia, and Burma. It is believed to serve clandestinely the interests of the Chinese Communists in some areas where diplomatic representation is not established and where Communist activities as such would meet with local government opposition.

Officers of the CDL:

Chairman	SHEN Chün-ju
Vice Chairmen	CHANG Po-chün KAO Ch'ung-min LO Lung-chi MA Hsü-lun SHIH Liang (f)
Secretary General	HU Yü-chih
Deputy Secretaries General	HSIN Chih-ch'ao HSU Shou-hsien CHANG Yun-ch'uan CHOU Ch'ing-wen YEH Tu-i

*F. Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee (KMTRC)*

The KMTRC was formed in Hong Kong in January 1948 by Marshal LI Chi-shen as a gesture of protest against his KMT political enemy CHIANG Kai-shek. Subsequently Marshal LI joined forces with Communist opposition to the KMT and became a vice-chairman (*honoris causa*, to all appearances) of the government organized by the Communists in 1949.

The KMTRC organizes all ex-KMT members who are acceptable to the CCP. This category includes former members of the KMT who are living in Southeast Asia as well as those in China. At the third KMTRC Congress, which was held in February 1956, LI Chi-shen announced that membership had grown 6.5 times since 1950.

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The KMTRC maintains a steady flow of propaganda into Taiwan and other Chinese communities overseas, soliciting KMT members to defect and return to China.

Officers of the KMTRC:

Chairman	LI Chi-shen
Vice Chairmen	HO Hsiang-ning (F) CH'ENG Ch'ien TS'AI T'ing-k'ai CHANG Chih-chung HSIUNG K'o-wu LUNG Yun TENG Pao-shan CH'EN Shao-hsien
Secretary General	MEI Kung-pin
Deputy Secretaries General	CH'U Wu CH'EN Tse

*G. China Association for Promoting Democracy (CAPD)*

Founded in January 1946, the CAPD consists mostly of cultural and educational workers.

It organizes progressive intelligentsia, administrative workers, and practitioners. Members of the Central Committee include a number of persons also active in the China Democratic League and some former military and government officials under the Kuomintang. The association was formerly known as the China Kuomintang Association for Promoting Democracy. A large proportion of the CAPD membership is made up of what the Chinese Communists call "intellectuals."

Officers of the CAPD:

Chairman	MA Hsü-lun
Vice Chairmen	WANG Shao-ao CHOU Chien-jen CH'E Hsiang-shen
Secretary General	HSÜ Kuang-p'ing (F) aka Mme. LU Hsun

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*H. China Democratic National Construction Association  
(CDNCA)*

The CDNCA originated in December 1945 as an organization of traders, manufacturers, and others engaged in industrial and commercial activity. Although it was accepted into the coalition government which was formed in 1949, several of its members, including an official on its standing committee, were subsequently purged; and it was not permitted to take part in any formal party activities until June 1952. The tenuous stature of the CDNCA suggests that persons in industry and commerce have been more reluctant than others to rally to the support of the regime, and that persons in this category are not trusted by the Communist regime.

It organizes industrialists and merchants. According to an official press release, dated 28 August 1956, membership in the CDNCA had grown 2.5 times in the preceding eight months. Seventy-six percent of its members are said to be businessmen.

The CDNCA is charged with responsibility for eliminating resistance among merchants and industrialists to the CCP's program for nationalizing industry and commerce.

This association is closely related to the mass organization, All China Federation of Industrial and Commercial Associations. There are also local branches of CDNCA in all the large municipalities, such as Shanghai, Tientsin, and Peking. The CDNCA and the All China Federation of Industrial and Commercial Associations held a preparatory conference in February 1956 and founded a new subsidiary organization, the National Conference of Dependents of Industrial and Commercial Circles, Women Industrialists and Businesswomen, of which CHANG Yun, vice chairman of the All China Democratic Women's Federation, was named chairman. This National Conference is illustrative of the numerous overlapping control and propaganda devices which reach out to encompass groups of persons not otherwise organized through the satellite parties or mass organizations.

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Officers of the CDNCA:

Chairman	HUANG Yen-p'ei
Vice Chairmen	LI Chu-ch'en CHANG Nai-ch'i NAN Han-ch'en SHENG P'ei-hua SHIH Fu-liang HU Ch'ueh-wen HU Tzu-ang
Secretary General	SUN Ch'i-meng
Deputy Secretaries General	LO Shu-chang (F) YU Huan-ch'eng

*I. China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party (CPWDP)*

Originally known as the Chinese Revolutionary Party, the China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party (CPWDP) was founded in 1927 by petty bourgeoisie elements who opposed both the KMT and the Communists. In the late thirties it joined the KMT and the CCP in a united front against Japan. Following the defeat of the Japanese and the renewal of the civil war in China, its leaders fled to Hong Kong. In 1948 the CPWDP accepted the united front proposals of the CCP. Despite its name, the CPWDP has no ascertainable roots among the masses of peasants and workers.

In 1950 the CPWDP was assigned the task of organizing experts and technicians in economic departments of the government. After discussions in the late spring of 1953 its leaders issued a directive stating that the emphasis would shift to the recruitment of the middle and upper levels among public functionaries and educational workers, specifically intellectuals working in scientific, technical, educational, cultural, medical, and public health departments of the government. This change in targets followed public acknowledgements by CPWDP leaders that during previous periods of expansion certain non-conformist and undisciplined elements had been accepted by the party.

Reports of its activities indicate that the CPWDP is especially concerned with indoctrination (or, as the Communists say, "raising the political consciousness") of scientific, cultural, and educational leaders in China.

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Officers of the CPWDP:

Chairman	CHANG Po-chün
Vice Chairman	P'ENG Tse-min (deceased October 1956)
Secretary General	HUANG Ch'i-hsiang
Deputy Secretaries General	CHI Fang LI Po-ch'iu

*J. Chiu San Society (CSS)*

Founded in 1944 as the "Democracy and Science Society," the Chiu San Society (CSS) later took its present name, which means September Third Society, in commemoration of China's victory over Japan on that date. It was originally composed of intellectuals engaged in the cultural and educational fields and resulted from conferences of various university professors. It is now an organization for scientists and highly skilled intellectuals.

Officers of the Chiu San Society:

Chairman	HSÜ Te-heng
Vice Chairman	LIANG Hsi
Secretary General	T'U Ch'ang-wang
Deputy Secretaries General	LI I SUN Ch'eng-p'ei WANG Chih-hsiang

*K. Chih Kung Tang (CKT)*

The Chih Kung Tang, as discussed herein, represents a grouping of persons who were former members of a secret society of Chinese overseas. This secret society originated in the early 17th century in China and spread to Southeast Asia, Australia, and the Americas. It has undergone many changes since its founding, and numerous splinter groups have sprung from it over the years. Its members furnished financial and political aid for more than one attempt to overthrow the constituted governments of China. Two of the offshoots are still active in the Americas. One group bears the title Chih Kung Tang; the other and larger society is the Min Chih Tang, which is at least not openly pro-Communist. These two groups exert considerable influence among the Chinese communities in the Western Hemisphere.

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The CKT in Communist China is comprised principally of persons returned from the Americas. The present CKT on the China mainland apparently originated sometime in 1949. Its present chairman and its former chairman, now deceased, were both leaders in the Chih Kung Tang branch in New York City before returning to Communist China.

The CKT directs Communist propaganda toward overseas Chinese, principally those connected with non-Communist controlled branches of the secret society, and assists in processing returned overseas Chinese and their dependents.

Officials of the CKT:

Chairman	CH'EN Ch'i-yu
Vice Chairman	KUAN Wen-sen
Secretary General	CHENG T'ien-pao
Deputy Secretary General	YEN Hsi-chün

*L. Taiwan Democratic Self Government League (TDSGL)*

The Taiwan Democratic Self Government League (TDSGL) was founded in 1947 by anti-KMT Taiwanese and Chinese. It organizes Taiwanese and Chinese with relatives or a special interest in Taiwan.

Its primary function is to support by every means at its disposal the CCP campaign to gain Communist control over Taiwan. Members of the TDSGL often broadcast direct appeals to their friends and relatives on Taiwan, encouraging them to defect or otherwise assist the Communist cause.

Officers of the TDSGL:

Chairman	HSIEH Hsüeh-hung (F)
Vice Chairman	LI Chun-ch'ing (LI Shun-ch'ing)
Secretary General	CHIANG Shih-ch'ien

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## APPENDIX TO PART II

### CHINESE COMMUNIST VERSION OF NON-COMMUNIST POLITICAL PARTIES

The following descriptions of the satellite parties were broadcast in English by Radio Peking to Europe in June 1956 "for the convenience of editors wishing to follow the reports of the National People's Congress":

"A survey of the political parties of China, other than the Communist Party, shows that their membership has grown by over 400 percent since liberation. Local organizations of the parties are distributed chiefly in the cities. Altogether they have some 300 local organizations.

"The chief parties of China are the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang of China, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, the China Chih Kung Tang, the Chiu San Society, and the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League.

"The following are brief introductions to these parties:

"1 — The Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang of China . . . was composed of democratic elements of the former Kuomintang who opposed CHIANG Kai-shek's dictatorship. It was formally established in 1948. It has close contact with former members of the Kuomintang and with upper and middle class elements who were, in one way or another, historically connected with the Kuomintang. It attended the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949; and LI Chi-shen, its chairman, was elected Vice Chairman of the Central People's Government at the conference.

"LI Chi-shen was elected Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC and Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in 1954.

"2 — The China Democratic League has close contact with the intelligentsia. It was established in 1941 under the name of the

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Democratic Groups League, which it changed in 1944 to the China Democratic League. Members of the League supported the principle of persisting in the war against Japanese aggression and stood for the Chinese Communist Party's policy of democracy and unity against the Japanese invaders. After victory in the war, it fought against the rule of the Kuomintang and opposed its plots for civil war. It was dissolved in October 1947 under Kuomintang pressure and reestablished itself in January 1948 in Hong Kong. It declared for cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party at the same time. It attended the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Consultative Conference in 1949; and CHANG Lan, the late chairman, was elected Vice Chairman of the Central People's Government. CHANG Lan, the late chairman, and SHEN Chun-ju, the vice chairman, were elected vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and vice chairmen of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference in 1954. SHEN Chun-ju is now the chairman of the League.

"3 — The China Democratic National Construction Association was formed in 1945. Members of the Association are mainly patriotic industrialists, businessmen, and intellectuals who are connected with those circles. Led by HUANG Yen-p'ei and CHANG Nai-ch'i, the Association attended the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949. HUANG Yen-p'ei, the chairman, was nominated Vice Premier of the then Government Council, following the establishment of the Central People's Government.

"HUANG Yen-p'ei, the chairman, was elected Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the First National People's Congress and Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1954.

"4 — China Association for Promoting Democracy. The membership of the China Association for Promoting Democracy is chiefly made up of people in cultural and educational circles. The chairman is MA Hsü-lun, and the secretary general is HSÜ Kuang-p'ing, wife of the late writer, LU Hsun. The China Association for Promoting Democracy was founded in 1946. It was one of the important groups which carried forward the democratic movement before 1949.

"In 1949 the Association took part in the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. The

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Association's Chairman, MA Hsü-lun, is a member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

"5 — The Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party was founded in 1929 after the defeat of the first great revolution. Its original name was the Chung Hua Ke Ming Tang (Chinese Revolutionary Party). Later it was changed to the Provisional Action Committee of the Kuomintang of China. In 1935 it was again changed to the Chinese National Liberation Action Committee. Its present name, the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party, was adopted in 1947. The Party agreed with the policy, established by the Chinese Communist Party in 1935, of setting up a national united front to fight against Japan. In 1938 the Party proclaimed that it stood for democracy, unity, and a war of resistance. Later it joined in activities against the Kuomintang's civil war policy and in the struggle for democracy. In 1949 the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party participated in the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. The chairman of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party is CHANG Po-chün, who is also Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

"6 — China Chih Kung Tang has contact with Overseas Chinese. It was organized by Overseas Chinese in America. In 1947 the Party issued its political platform advocating peace within the country and political democracy, and opposing the dictatorial rule of the Kuomintang. The China Chih Kung Tang, represented by CH'EN Ch'i-yu and others, participated in the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949. The chairman of the China Chih Kung Tang is CH'EN Ch'i-yu, and the vice chairman is KUAN Wen-shen. CH'EN Ch'i-yu is now a member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

"7 — The Chiu San Society. Members of the Chiu San Society are chiefly intellectuals in the academic field. Founded in 1944, the Society evolved from forums and gatherings of a section of university professors. It was formally inaugurated in 1945, when it became known as the Chiu San Society. Before liberation, the Society made contributions to the democratic movement. In 1949 the Society was represented at the Conference with HSÜ Te-heng and others as its delegates. HSÜ Te-heng, Chairman of

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the Chiu San Society, is now a member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and is Minister of Marine Products. The Vice Chairman of the Society, LIANG Hsi, is currently Minister of Forestry.

"8 — The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League was founded in November 1947. Its aim is to oppose U. S. imperialist aggression and work in coordination with all the people of China for the liberation of Taiwan. The league embraces a section of compatriots of Taiwan origin living on the mainland. The league participated in the first plenary session of the Chinese CPPCC held in 1949. The Chairman of the League is HSIEH Hsüeh-hung, and the Vice Chairman is LI Chun-ch'ing."

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## PART III

### ALL CHINA FEDERATIONS

#### *A. Introduction*

All China federations, as they are called by the Chinese Communists, constitute the second major component of the "people's democratic united front." They are used by the Communists to mobilize all elements of the population not already organized by the Party, the Government, or the military. Separate All China federations corresponding to each major social, religious, professional, and vocational group (e. g., workers, students, women, youth, scientists, businessmen, returned overseas Chinese, etc.) have been formed by the Central Committee organs of the CCP. In this way the Communists (who constitute less than 2% of the population) are able to involve great masses of people in the many state-sponsored political and economic "movements" which characterize their technique of governing.

Like the satellite parties, the All China federations are used by the Communists to organize, indoctrinate, and mobilize specific sectors of the Chinese populace. However, they differ from the satellite parties in several respects, notably in their origin, number, size and character of membership, relation to the CCP, and diverse functions.

#### *B. Scope and Composition*

Unlike the satellite parties, which were formed independently and later absorbed by the present regime, most of the All China federations are creatures of the Communist Party, some of them founded before 1949. As emphasized previously, the satellite parties are relatively small, few in number, and restricted to work among urban intellectuals, Chinese who have returned from abroad, and former members of the KMT. The All China federations, on the other hand, vary in size, are numerous, and practically unlimited in their combined range.

There are over twenty major All China federations, ranging in size from the All China Sports Federation, consisting of several thousand young athletes, to the All China Democratic Women's

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Federation, which claims a membership of almost 80 million. Some of the larger All China federations have many components which are in turn organized on a national scale. The All China Federation of Trade Unions has separate national unions of railroad, electrical, textile, mine, and machine workers, among others; and the All China Federation of Literature and Art Circles encompasses national associations of writers, journalists, motion-picture workers, etc., each of which in turn has its own local and national federations.

The collective range of these federations, unlike the closely restricted jurisdiction of the satellite parties, is practically unlimited. Every social, professional, vocational, and religious element of the population has been drawn into group activity by one or another of the All China federations. These elements include workers, students, women, scientists, lawyers, doctors, businessmen, Moslems, Buddhists, etc.

Because it is not uncommon for a person to hold concurrent memberships in several of the All China federations (e.g., a female writer who has not yet reached the age of twenty-five might belong to the All China Democratic Women's Federation, the All China Federation of Democratic Youth, and the All China Federation of Literary and Art Circles), membership statistics which are released by the individual organizations are of limited value in attempting to reach a figure which represents the total number of Chinese absorbed into the federations. Some estimates have placed this figure as high as 200,000,000. In theory, at least, the only limit on the size of the All China federations is the total number of people in China, excepting, of course, those whom the Chinese Communists classify as counterrevolutionaries and those already effectively organized under the CCP, the Chinese Communist armed forces, and the public security forces.

### *C. Organizational Structure and Subordination to the CCP*

Each of the All China federations has an organizational structure resembling that of the CCP and the satellite parties. The national congress is theoretically the highest organ; but because it meets very infrequently, its powers are exercised by the national executive committee. Subordinate congresses and committees direct the work of the All China federation in the provinces and larger municipalities. The basic organizational unit is the small

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branch or group which consists of seven to ten rank-and-file members.

The centralized superstructure of the All China federations, like that of the satellite parties, is of less importance to the Communists than the growth of small groups or branches under proper guidance. It is within these small groups that each federation fulfills its primary functions of organizing the non-Communist masses and inculcating in them discipline, loyalty, and self-sacrifice in the interests of the Party and state. Under constant surveillance by a fraction of CCP members or activists who direct the group, and faced with penalties ranging from social ostracism to imprisonment or even death, the individual non-Communist has no choice but to accept the decisions of the group enthusiastically.

The various echelons described above — i. e., the national, provincial, municipal, and basic organs of each All China federation — are bound together in a pyramid of control operating on the principle of “democratic centralism,” which means that directives issued by the national executive committee are binding on all lower level committees and ultimately on each of the basic units.

Although ostensibly independent, and publicized as such, the federations are in fact controlled at the central and local levels by one or another of the subsidiary organs of the CCP. Their adherence to the “correct” Communist line is assured by a nucleus of CCP members in top posts, a fact which is illustrated in the following descriptions of the various important federations.

Although these mass organizations were founded, or taken over, and nurtured under the guidance of the organs of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, as were the satellite parties in their present status, there is some evidence that they are being phased into segments of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), an overt device through which the United Front Department, operating behind the scenes, can manipulate these organizations and their leaders.

#### *D. Quasi-Legal Status*

The All China federations are more closely connected with the formal governmental apparatus than are the minor non-Communist parties, and most of the former may be regarded as para-governmental agencies. Their charters are issued by the gov-

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ernment, and most of them have some sort of administrative functions. Labor insurance regulations of 24 March 1951, for example, were promulgated jointly by the government's Ministry of Labor and the All China Federation of Trade Unions; and the latter organization participated in the administration of insurance funds. Land reform throughout the country was enforced by the local peasant associations, which handled all the details of land confiscation and redistribution. The youth and student federations play important roles in the recruitment and assignment of government personnel. All of these federations, along with the CCP, non-Communist parties, and military, select delegates who make up the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), the instrument of the "people's democratic united front."

*E. Other Functions*

As stated previously, the primary function of each All China federation is to mobilize and indoctrinate a particular non-Communist social, professional, religious, or vocational sector of the population. The federations are also used to promote the interests of the Peking regime internationally.

*F. Relative Status of All China Federations*

For practical reasons and because they give concrete form to the Chinese Communist concept of a worker-peasant alliance, labor and peasant organizations have played the most important roles since state power was seized by the CCP.

Many of the peasant associations were formed during the war with Japan and utilized by the CCP in its activities in areas behind Japanese lines. Others were set up on the heels of advancing CCP armies during the period of civil war which followed. Under the present regime peasant associations were assigned the task of administering agrarian reform — the first stage in the organization, surveillance, control, and indoctrination of China's farm population. In addition to surveying, confiscating, and reapportioning land holdings, the peasant association was charged with (1) organizing the village peasantry to carry out the regime's social reforms, (2) organizing agricultural production through rural cooperatives, and (3) propagandizing the peasant members in order to "elevate their political and cultural level." Unlike the All China federations, which are organized nationally, peasant associations are local in character and,



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though tightly controlled by the CCP, apparently have never united under any single national organization. In 1952 the Peking press reported that peasant associations in areas which came under the control of the Chinese Communists after 1948 had a total membership in excess of 88 million.

Since the land reform program has been completed, the peasant association has decreased in importance. The combined membership of agricultural producer cooperatives and collectives is a better index to the degree of control exercised by the CCP over the rural population. In June 1956 Peking claimed that 108 million (or 90%) of the peasant households in China had joined cooperatives and that 60% of these cooperatives had been collectivized.

Although not called federations, the Political Science and Law Association (PSLA), China Islamic Association (CISA), and China Buddhist Association (CBA) are included under this section on All China federations because their primary function is to organize members of particular groups. Although the Chinese Communists publicly refer to "Christian Religious Circles" as a united group, it is believed this is more a title than a fact, as will be seen in the corresponding portion of this section.

*G. All China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU)*

The urban counterpart of the peasant associations is the local labor unions, some 200,000 of which, representing manual workers in 23 principal industries, are united under the leadership of the All China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU). The total membership of the ACFTU has reportedly increased from 4,000,000 in 1949 to 12,450,000 in 1956. The continuation of present trends would produce by the end of 1957 about 15,000,000 trade union members out of an estimated total working force of 16,000,000. Supervision of the trade unions at the national and local levels is in the hands of the 1.5 million union leaders reported by Peking to be members of the CCP.

Trade union membership includes, in addition to manual workers in the 23 principal industries, various staff employees — clerks, custodians, stenographers, typists, and management personnel at the lower level. Many working class elements are excluded from membership: (1) peasants; (2) small handicraftsmen, because they are not paid in wages; (3) handicraft work-

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ers, because handicrafts are distinguished from modern industry; and (4) certain professional workers, because they are regarded as non-working class elements. Those excluded from membership in the trade unions have been organized into other All China federations.

Under the Labor Union Law (28 June 1950) the ACFTU and its affiliates have become adjuncts of the state with political and internal security functions in addition to the responsibility for organizing the working class. According to this law, labor unions must (1) educate and organize workers in support of government laws and directives; (2) create new worker attitudes conducive to greater productivity; (3) guard against all types of waste, corruption, and sabotage of state enterprises; and (4) exercise vigilance over private industry in the interests of the state.

The preamble to the revised "Constitution of the Trade Unions of the CPR," adopted on 10 May 1953, contains some of the currently fashionable metaphors and slogans (underlined below) used to describe the function of the unions:

"The Trade Unions of China led by the Communist Party have rallied the broad masses of the workers around the party and have thus become transmission belts between the party and the masses. Since the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship, the trade unions under the leadership of the party have become a school of administration, a school of management, and a school of Communism for the workers."

Although trade unions are enjoined by their constitution "to show constant concern over the improvement of the material and cultural life and the working conditions of the entire body of workers, technical personnel, and staff members," the requirements of production are given higher priority than the needs of the workers. Trade union cadres that become preoccupied with welfare projects are often subject to sharp criticism. For example, ACFTU Chairman LAI Jo-yü, in a report to the Seventh All China Congress of Trade Unions, condemned the expansion of labor insurance programs as "blind adventurism out of proportion to practical requirements."

In order to increase labor productivity, trade union programs for strengthening labor discipline and developing "labor emulation" (that is, the emulation of model workers who produce above established norms) have been initiated by the ACFTU and its

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affiliates. In 1954, for example, the ACFTU drafted and presented to the State Council for adoption "The Outline of Labor Regulations for State Operated Enterprises," the stated purpose of which was "to ensure and consolidate labor discipline." The outline was enacted into law immediately, and strict observance of its regulations was made the "sacred duty" of all workers. Ten of the twenty-four articles deal with punitive measures.

Labor emulation campaigns are a continuing function of the trade unions. They are effective not only in increasing production but also in raising the political consciousness of the Chinese worker. The ACFTU publishes the *China Worker*.

The ACFTU actively participates in the direction and activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions and maintains relations with unions in non-Communist countries.

Officials of the ACFTU:

Chairman	LAI Jo-yü
Vice Chairmen	CHU Hsüeh-fan LIU Ch'ang-sheng LIU Ning-i
Secretary General	MAO Ch'i-hua
Secretariat	CHANG Hsiu-chu CHANG Wei-chen CH'EN Shao-min (f) CHENG Yu HSÜ Chih-chen LI Hsieh-po LI Tsai-wen LIU Tzu-chiu TUNG Hsin

*H. All China Democratic Women's Federation (ACDWF)*

The ACDWF was formed by the Communists in 1949, ostensibly to emancipate China's women, whose underprivileged status had characterized previous Chinese history. Membership in the ACDWF is limited to women's organizations; there are no individual members of the ACDWF. In order to be counted among the 80,000,000 members claimed by the ACDWF, a woman must first join the YWCA or some other women's organization which is affiliated with the ACDWF. It is unlikely that the large membership claimed by the ACDWF has been fully integrated.

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The *People's Handbook of 1953* states that the aim of the ACDWF is "to rally the great mass of women of all classes and races to participate actively in the construction programs of the nation, to protect the rights of women and the welfare of children, to raise the consciousness and ability of women, to realize equality between the sexes, to achieve thorough emancipation of women, and to fight for the guarding of world peace in alliance with the peace loving women of the world."

During the first two years of its existence the ACDWF concentrated on organizational activity, implementation of agrarian reform, and familiarizing women with Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of MAO Tse-tung. Traditional Chinese attitudes toward women were attacked in an effort to exploit their productive capacity.

Following its second National Congress, the ACDWF emphasized that the central task of the women's movement was to mobilize women to participate actively in industrial and agricultural production. In accordance with this task several hundred thousand women were given jobs in industry, and others were appointed to government positions. Nurseries were organized everywhere in order to care for children of working mothers.

As a supplement to its activities on behalf of the state, the ACDWF is attempting to improve the social and economic lot of the Chinese woman. Communist sources report that approximately half the students in China are women. Under the Marriage Law wives have been given equal rights with their husbands.

The ACDWF has been especially active in the activities of the world Communist movement among women (WIDF) and in promoting contacts with women in non-Communist countries. The ACDWF publishes *Women of China*, an English language publication, and *Women Workers of the New China*, an illustrated magazine.

Officials of the ACDWF:

Honorary Chairmen SOONG Ch'ing-ling (Mme. SUN Yat-sen)

HO Hsiang-ning (widow of LIAO Chung-k'ai)

Chairman TS'AI Ch'ang (Mme. LI Fu-chun)

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Vice Chairmen	CHANG Yün (widow of LI Yun-sheng) HSÜ Kuang-p'ing (widow of LU Hsun) LI Te-ch'üan (widow of Marshal FENG Yu-hsiang) CHIH Liang (husband LU Chao-hua, from whom separated) TENG Ying-ch'ao (Mme. CHOU En-lai)
Secretary General	CHANG Ch'in-ch'iu (Mme. CH'EN Ch'ang-hao)
Secretariat	CHANG Yün (widow of LI Yun-sheng) HSÜ Kuang-p'ing (Mme. LU Hsun) K'ANG K'o-ch'ing (Mme. CHU Teh) LO Ch'iung (Miss) SHEN Tzu-chiu (Mme. HU Tü-chih) TS'AO Kuan-ch'un TS'AO Meng-chün (Mme. WANG K'un-lun) TSENG Hsien-chih

*I. All China Federation of Democratic Youth (ACFDY)*

The ACFDY was formed in 1949 in order to unite the youth throughout the country in support of the CCP's program. It is a large and, by strict Communist standards, a loosely-knit organization. In this respect it differs from the Chinese Young Communist League (YCL), an auxiliary of the CCP, consisting of young activists, most of whom are slated to become party members.

Like the ACDWF, the ACFDY is composed chiefly of organized youth units, both national and local. Its constitution provides, however, that "persons having influence over and contributions to the youth mass" may join as individuals.

The upper age limit for membership in the ACFDY is stated to be 25. However, many of its leaders are CCP and YCL activists who are obviously exempt from this requirement. Key ACFDY members are also active participants in affairs of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

Officials of the ACFDY:

Chairman	LIAO Ch'eng-chih
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Vice Chairmen	CH'IENT San-ch'iang LIU Tao-sheng OU T'ang-liang (f) WU Han LIU Hsi-yüan
Secretary General	TU Ch'ien
Deputy Secretaries General	CH'IENT Li-jen CH'IENT Wei-ch'ang KUAN Shih-hsiung SUN Fu-ling TING Ts'ung WANG Ch'uan-pin

*J. All China Federation of Students (ACFS)*

Fully aware of the key political role which students in China have assumed over the past several decades, the Communists organized the All China Students' Federation (currently known as the All China Federation of Students) in 1949. The basic units in the ACFS are student associations in all middle schools and institutions of higher learning.

Both the student and youth federations are used as shock troops in carrying out CCP campaigns. Under party direction, the student federations dispatch units to activate other groups — for example, to participate in the collectivization of agriculture through the cooperatives and in factory reorganization through the labor unions. Activism in ACFS work often leads to membership in the YCL and from there into the party.

Like the ACFDY, the ACFS is active in international Communist front activities, specifically in the activities of the International Union of Students (IUS). The ACFS is also in contact with student groups in non-Communist countries.

There is much cross-membership between the ACFS and the CYL; and of course, because of the ACFS is an organizational member of ACFDY, all members of the former are *per se* members of the latter. Since its organization in 1949, at least, and perhaps before that time, the students' federation has sent delegates to conferences, to congresses of the Communist front organizations, and to World Congresses of Youth and the International Union of Students (IUS). The impressionable, volatile nature of students in all countries makes them prime targets for recruitment

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into Communism, for utilization prior to a Communist revolution, and for the spreading of propaganda. Communist countries generally have created a corps of "professional" students used to exploit and control student groups.

Officials of the ACFS:

Chairman	HU Ch'i-li
Vice Chairmen	CHANG Wen-hao CH'EN Chen-lei FANG Kuang-yu (f) FENG Yin-fu KUAN Jo-luan (f) SUN Shou-chu SUNG Hsi-heng T'o-hu-ti-ai-li TUNG Hsueh-lung HSIEH Pang-ting (f)
Secretary General	CH'EN Li-jen
Deputy Secretaries General	YUAN Yung-hsi CH'EN Ta-wei SHIH Chung-pen

*K. All China Federation of Industrial and Commercial Associations (ACFICA)*

In 1953 the ACFICA was formed as a national organization for private businessmen and industrialists who survived the several campaigns and other efforts by the Communists since 1949 to eliminate the capitalistic trends. The establishment of such an organization was discussed before the Communists formed their government in 1949, but businessmen were considered politically and organizationally unfit at that time. Local federations of these "national bourgeoisie" were, however, set up in all large cities as channels of communication between municipal governments and private companies. A preparatory committee for establishing the ACFICA on the national level was finally established in June 1952, after the anti-corruption campaign had thoroughly cowed all sectors of private business.

In large measure the membership of this organization overlaps that of the Democratic National Construction Association (see Part II under Satellite Parties). The federation, however, is not limited to China's big business; it includes associations of

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representatives of joint private-state enterprises, state-owned enterprises and cooperatives (also separately organized under the All China Federation of Cooperatives), and handicraft entrepreneurs, vendors, and street hawkers.

The primary task of the ACFICA is to impose systematically the various stages of "socialist transformation" upon the target groups named above. To the businessman "socialist transformation" means liquidation of private enterprise in favor of state control or joint state-private control of all means of production and commerce. Conceivably the Communists could have eliminated all vestiges of private business. Instead, they have chosen thus far to reform the businessman in their own image.

In the closing months of 1955 the ACFICA was placed by the CCP in the forefront of a nationwide campaign to eliminate private enterprise. In January 1956 Peking announced that private industry and commerce in all major cities had been converted to state or joint state-private ownership, and predicted that complete state ownership and control would be achieved within three years.

Officials of the ACFICA:

Chairman	CH'EN Shu-tung
Vice Chairmen	CHANG Nai-ch'i
	CHEN Ching-yu
	HSU Ti-hsin
	HU Tzu-ang
	HUANG Ch'ang-shui
	JUNG I-jen
	KUNG T'ien-min
	LI Chu-ch'en
	MENG Yung-ch'ien
	NAN Han-ch'en
	SHENG P'ei-hua
	(4 others)
Secretary General	SHA Ch'ien-li
Deputy Secretaries	HUANG Chieh-jan
General	HU Tzu-ang

*L. All China Union of Commerce (ACUC)*

Originally known as the All China Union of Shopkeepers, the name of this body was changed to All China Union of Commerce



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in December 1955. It embraces within its membership employees and workers of state-operated, joint state-private operated, and privately owned commercial enterprises, commercial cooperatives, and units subordinate to them. Exactly where this federation fits into the over-all picture (whether under the ACFTU or ACFICA) is not clearly established, although it is believed to be one of the associations affiliated with the ACFICA. Sometimes, however, it is called the China Commercial Trade Union.

Officials of the ACUC:

Chairman	CHANG Ch'ing-ch'un, Vice Minister of Commerce
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Vice Chairman	LI Wei-hsin
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*M. All China Federation of Cooperatives (ACFC)*

Formed in June 1951, the ACFC claimed 120,000,000 members in over 36,000 supply and marketing cooperatives by January 1953. Most of these cooperatives are in the rural areas, where Communist assertions claim nearly 32,000 associations serving the supply and marketing needs of over 95,000,000 peasant members.

Cooperatives affiliated with the ACFC should be distinguished from state-administered agricultural producer cooperatives (the precursors of collective farms). Although the functional relationship between the two has never been clearly defined, it is believed that the ACFC and its affiliates support the agricultural producer cooperatives with basic equipment, seed, etc., and assist the state in marketing the latter's product.

The ACFC also apparently encompasses groups concerned with the handicraft trades and with the production and marketing of certain industrial products.

The All China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives, often mentioned, is believed to be a part of, or perhaps identical with, the ACFC.

Officials of the ACFC:

Chairman	CH'ENG Tzu-hua
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Vice Chairmen	CHANG Ch'i-lung
	LIANG Yao
	MENG Yung-ch'ien
	TENG Ch'en-hsi
	YEN Ku-hsiang

*Board of Supervision*

Chairman	TSENG Shan
Vice Chairmen	TAI Hsiao-tung
	YU Shu-te

*N. All China Federation of Literature and Art Circles  
(ACFLAC)*

The ACFLAC, into which associations of authors, journalists, musicians, painters, and actors have been incorporated, was formed in 1949. Because of their potentially "dangerous individualism" and usefulness in propaganda activities, writers and artists have always been of particular interest to the CCP.

The thesis that literature and art are subordinate to and should be subjected to political requirements, as postulated by MAO Tse-tung in 1942, was endorsed by the ACFLAC at its founding and has served as its basic orientation ever since.

The activities of the ACFLAC are twofold: security and propaganda. Its primary task is to identify and control actual or potential dissidents among those in the fold encompassed by ACFLAC. In addition, the ACFLAC through its propaganda organs and other channels of communication popularizes important programs of the party and government. To date its ranks have been the object of a continuous process of ideological remolding.

Among its member organizations are included the national and local organizations of the All China Federation of Journalists (also known as the All China Journalists' Association), the Union of Chinese Writers, the Union of Chinese Musicians, the Union of Chinese Stage Artists, the Union of Chinese Dance Artists, the All China Federation of Artists, and the All China Federation of Cinema Workers.

The leaders of the ACFLAC, officers of the All China Federation of Journalists (whose members include all important editors, publishers, etc., in China), and officials of the Union of Chinese

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Writers (which has taken the lead in propagandizing the CCP's present line of "encouraging all schools of thought to contend") are herewith identified:

Officials of the ACFLAC:

Chairman	KUO Mo-jo
Vice Chairmen	CHOU Yang (aka CHOW Yang) SHEN Yen-ping (MAO Tun)
Secretary General	YANG Han-sheng

1. *All China Federation of Journalists (ACFJ) (also known as All China Journalists' Association)*

Officials of the ACFJ:

Chairman	TENG T'o
Vice Chairmen	CHIN Chung-hua (CHIN Hsiao-ya, C. K. King) HU Ch'iao-mu MEI I WANG Yun-sheng WU Leng-hsi
Secretary General	WU Leng-hsi (concurrent)
Deputy Secretaries General	HSU Mai-chin LI P'ing-ch'uan LIU Tsun-ch'i SHAO Tsung-han WU Wen-t'ao

2. *Union of Chinese Writers (UCW)*

Officials of the UCW:

Chairman	SHEN Yen-ping (MAO Tun)
Vice Chairmen	CHOU Yang (aka CHOW Yang) FENG Hsueh-feng K'O Chung-p'ing LIU Pai-yü PA Chin (LI Fei-kan) SHAO Ch'uan-lin SHU She-yu (Lao She) TING Ling TSAO Yü

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Secretary General	CH'EN Pai-ch'en
Deputy Secretaries General	CHANG Hsi KANG Cho

*O. All China Federation of Scientific Societies (ACFSS)*

Natural and social scientists have been organized under the ACFSS, which is composed of some 33 separate associations devoted to the study of everything from gardening to geophysics. It is not to be confused with the All China Association for the Dissemination of Scientific and Technical Knowledge (see Part IV), a broad propaganda front in which many non-scientists also participate.

The China Academy of Sciences is an official organ set up under government control and bears a close relationship to the ACFSS and the ADSTK. An International Relations Institute was set up under the Academy of Sciences in November 1956 to acquire, study, and apply scientific information from sources outside Communist China. Director of this institute is MENG Yung-ch'ien; his deputies are CHEN Han-sheng and LIU Ssu-mu.

One of the chief affiliates of the ACFSS is the All China Association of Medical Societies, the officers of which are active in the World Congress of Doctors (an international Communist front). This association has developed contacts with medical groups in non-Communist countries.

Officials of the ACFSS:

Honorary Chairman	WU Yü-chang
Chairman	LI Ssu-kuang (LEE Jonquei Su-kuang, J. S. Lee)
Vice Chairmen	CH'EN K'ang-pai HOU Te-pang (aka Chih-pen) TSENG Chao-lun WU Yu-hsün
Secretary General	YEN Chi-tzu
Deputy Secretaries General	TING Ts'an T'U Ch'ang-wang

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*P. All China Association of Medical Societies (ACAMS) (Also called China Medical Association)*

Officials of the ACAMS:

Honorary Chairmen	HO Ch'eng LI-Te-ch'üan SU Ching-kuan
Chairman	FU Lien-chang
Vice Chairmen	CHANG Ch'a-li CH'EN Wen-kuei FANG Shih-shan KUNG Nai-ch'uan SHEN K'o-fei WEI Hsi WU Chih-li YAO K'o-fang
Secretary General	FANG Shih-shan
Deputy Secretaries General	CHANG Ch'ing-sung CHI Su-hua CHUNG Hui-lan FU I-ch'eng HUANG Sheng-pai HUANG Shu-tse WU Ch'ao-jen

*Q. All China Federation of Returned Overseas Chinese Associations (FROCA)*

On 17 June 1956, following a symposium sponsored by the Peking Returned Overseas Chinese Association, a preparatory committee to create the FROCA was formed. At a meeting of the National People's Congress on 8 June 1956, FANG Fang, a deputy director of the government's Commission of Chinese Affairs (COCA), suggested the formation of a national organization of this type as a means of strengthening local Returned Overseas Chinese Associations which had been set up in municipalities and areas where returnees or their dependents have been concentrated. Membership in the FROCA is made up of the many local associations of returned overseas Chinese.

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Officials of the FROCA:

Chairman	TAN Kah-kee (CH'EN Chia-keng)
Vice Chairmen	CHUANG Hsi-ch'uan CHUANG Ming-li FANG Fang HUANG Ch'ang-shui I Mei-hou KAO Ming-hsien LI T'ieh-min LO Li-shih P'ENG Tse-min (deceased) WANG Yuan-hsing YEN Tzu-chun YU Yang-tsu
Secretary General	CHUANG Ming-li

*R. All China Sports Federation (ACSF)*

Sometimes referred to as the All China Athletic Federation, the ACSF organizes athletes and conducts athletic programs. It works closely with the youth organizations and the Physical Culture and Athletics Commission, a government organ. Many of its members have been sent abroad to participate in international athletic competitions.

Officials of the ACSF:

Chairman	MA Yüeh-han
Vice Chairmen	HSIAO Hua HUANG Ch'i-hsiang JUNG Kao-t'ang LI Te-ch'üan LIU Ning-i TUNG Shou-i WEI Ch'ueh
Secretary General	CHANG Lien-hua
Deputy Secretary General	HUANG Chung

*S. Political Science and Law Association of China (PSLA)*

Lawyers, jurists, and law enforcement officers have been organized into the PSLA, which apparently was formed in 1955. The

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PSLA is either the successor to or at least a close affiliate of the China New Jurisprudence Institute, which was formed in June 1949. The PSLA is popularized by the Communist press as an authority on domestic and international questions of law. Statements by its leaders on the legal aspects of socialism, land reform, territorial boundaries, and matters of international scope are often published in the Chinese Communist press. The PSLA maintains contact with counterpart organizations in other countries, both Communist and non-Communist.

Officials of the PSLA:

Chairman	TUNG Pi-wu
Vice Chairmen	CHANG Chih-jang CH'IENT Tuan-sheng HSIEH Chüeh-tsai PAO Erh-han (Burhan) SHEN Chun-ju (SHEN Heng-shan) WU Te-feng
Secretary General	CHU Ch'i-wen

*T. China Islamic Association (CISA)*

The CISA was formed in May 1953 as a device for controlling the some ten million Moslems in China. At a national conference in December 1956 the national committee was doubled in size to 186 members. It has been used effectively in cultivating relations with Asian countries and those of the Near and Middle East in which the populations are largely Moslem.

Officials of the CISA:

Chairman	PAO Erh-han (Burhan)
Vice Chairmen	I-ming Ma-ho-su-mu MA Chen-wu MA Yü-huai (Yusuf MA Yü-huai) TA P'u-sheng (aka Sheikh Nur Mohammed) YANG Ching-jen (YANG Tsing-jen, aka Ibrahim YANG) CHANG Yu-chen (CHANG Yu-tseng, Mohammed Ali CHANG)
Secretary General	Chang Chieh
Deputy Secretary General	MA Ming-chi

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*U. China Buddhist Association (CBA)*

The function and activities of the CBA among Buddhists parallel those of the CISA among the Moslems.

Officials of the CBA:

Honorary Chairmen	Dalai Lama Panchen Erdeni
Chairman	Hsi-jao-chia-t'so (Shirob Galtso)
Vice Chairmen	A-wang-chia-ts'o CHAO P'u-ch'u HU Pa (HU Pa-meng) Ko-la-tseng (Gelathang) Kung-te-lin Chin-mei-chi-tsun NENG Hai
Secretary General	CHAO P'u-ch'u
Deputy Secretaries General	CHOU Shu-chia CHU Tsan KUO P'eng

*V. Christian Religious Circles (CRC)*

Although Chinese Communist propaganda frequently refers to such a grouping as Christian Religious Circles (CRC), how formal this grouping may be is not clear. It has been estimated that there are (or were) 3.7 million Christians on the China mainland. That the regime recognizes potential opposition from this group to the communization of China is evident from the repeated charges against religious leaders as "counterrevolutionaries" and from the public trials held to punish some of them. One Radio Peking announcement claimed that 30,000 peasants from 110 villages attended the public trial in a suburb of Mukden of a group of Roman Catholic church personalities. Although such arrests and trials are widely publicized, other church leaders are quoted in Chinese Communist propaganda releases as praising religious freedom in China, and urging their religious groups to follow the Communist lead and to expose those who do not. Whether such statements are correctly attributed to certain religious leaders or whether they were obtained by threats or other pressures is not known.

Shortly after the Chinese Communist take-over a three-phase "Christian Independent Reform Movement" was instituted,

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designed to bring religion in China in line with Communist objectives. Leaders in this movement were identified as TSUI Hsien-hsiang and LIU Shou-pao. This movement to stamp out or at least neutralize religion in China was obviously successful, because almost all foreign clerics and missionaries have been deported or jailed, or their movement and activities have been restricted. Some of those who have gone along with the Communists, willingly or not, are used for propaganda purposes through such organizations as the CPPCC. For example, 73-year-old Rev. Marcus CHENG, president of the Chungking Theological Seminary and one of 21 speakers at a meeting of the CPPCC in February 1956, praised the "new Socialist society."

In March 1956 the "National Committee of the Protestant Churches of China for Self-Determination" brought together 233 leaders of 70 Protestant denominations to honor a group of visiting church leaders from abroad and to plan the committee's program for future activity. Y. T. WU (WU Yao-tsung), chairman of this committee, represents Christian Religious Circles on the CPPCC, is a member of the China Peace Committee and All China Federation of Democratic Youth, and edited the Chinese YMCA publication in Shanghai. WU, in his address before a meeting of the committee, described the "three-self movement" in Chinese religious circles as "self-administration, self-support, and self-propagation." WU described Chinese Communism as "a Socialistic order that is just, charitable, and in full harmony with our Christian belief."

Among those publicized, with or without their consent, by the Chinese Communists as Christian leaders favorable to the regime are:

CHAO Fu-san, Deputy Secretary, Peiping YMCA.

CHAO Tz'u-chen, member of national committee: "Christian Churches in China for Realization of Self-Determination"; dean of the Department of Theology, Yenching University.

CH'EN Tsung-kuei (Robin T. S. CHEN) (CH'EN Ch'ung-kuei), vice-chairman, "Patriotic Movement of Chinese Christians."

CHENG, Rev. Marcus, president of the Chungking Theological Seminary.

CHIA Yu-ming, vice president of the "International Council of Christian Churches."

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CHUNG Huai-mo (Alphonsus), Catholic Bishop of Peiping.

HO Ch'eng-hsiang, chief, Bureau for Religious Affairs under the State Council.

KAO Shang-jen, Secretary, Peiping YMCA.

LI Chun-wu, coadjutor of the Bureau of Religious Affairs, State Council.

LIU Shao-pao, reported leader in "Christian Independent Reform Movement."

TING Kuei-t'ang (Bishop K. H. TING), Chinese Anglican Church; attended a meeting of the Central Committee of World Council of Churches, held near Budapest, Hungary, July-August 1956, and a meeting of the World Student Christian Federation later in West Germany; was to report on his trip to the "Patriotic Movement of Chinese Christians."

WU I-fang, delegate to National People's Congress of 1954; former head of Ginling College; in charge of general education for Kiangsu Province.

WU Yao-tsung (Y. T. WU), chairman of the "National Committee of Protestant Churches of China for Self-Determination"; member ACFDY, ACFSS, WPC, ASC, ACRFC; U. S. educated; member Standing Committee of CPPCC.

The following were announced as the officers of the "National Committee of Christian Churches in China for Realization of Self-Administration":

Chairman	WU Yao-tsung
Vice Chairmen	CH'EN Chien-chen
	CH'EN Ch'ung-kuei
	CHIANG Ch'ang-ch'uan
	TING Yu-chang
	TS'UI Hsien-hsiang (Dr. H. H. TSUI)
	WU I-fang

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## APPENDIX TO PART III

### DEMOCRATIC PERSONAGES AND INTELLECTUALS

#### *Democratic Personages*

In Chinese Communist terminology, that group formerly most frequently referred to as "democratic personages" is now usually called "democratic nonpartisans." This designation is given to those persons who were leaders in their respective fields prior to the Chinese Communist take-over, who were not then and have not since become specifically identified with any of the smaller political parties, yet are well-known to and respected by the Chinese people. Many "democratic personages" were invited to the first CPPCC in 1949, when the Chinese Communist program was adopted and a formal Chinese People's Government was set up. A few were named to government posts. Twelve "democratic nonpartisans," among those named to the National Executive Committee of the CPPCC in 1956, represent a larger group over which close scrutiny is maintained by the United Front Department. These individuals represent potential rallying points around which groups of lesser personalities, who might become dissatisfied with the Chinese Communist regime, could gather. No attempt will be made herein to list persons falling in this category, because there is often a thin line of distinction between them and those playing the Communist game as leaders of the various satellite parties, people's organizations, domestic and international fronts. Further, there is reason to suspect that many of these "democratic nonpartisans" are actually secret CCP members wearing a false label for propaganda and other purposes serving Communist objectives.

One example (probably the most noteworthy) is the case of KUO Mo-jo. Although he is called a "democratic nonpartisan," the multiplicity of his connections with the government, All China federations, and the various domestic and international Communist fronts may be seen by referring to his listing under the alphabetical grouping at the end of this paper.

Among other of KUO's services to the Chinese Communist cause, he is Chairman of the "Chinese People's Committee in Support of Egypt's Resistance to Aggression." He is a partici-

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part in virtually all Chinese Communist domestic fronts and campaigns and is found in the forefront, parroting the Chinese Communist line, on all occasions. It is obvious that there is no ideological distinction between his position on all important domestic and international issues and that of an open, ardent Communist. The Communists apparently feel, however, that there is an advantage in obtaining the help of KUO and others of his type to create the illusion that those outside the CCP who are not affiliated with non-Communist political parties accept the Communist line whole-heartedly. The grouping as "democratic nonpartisans" does not appear to call for any formal organization among these personages but rather to place them within a category requiring special handling and surveillance by the Party. It also conveniently groups them for propaganda purposes.

*Intellectuals*

This is another group which is not formally organized and cuts across lines of all other groups. It is dealt with here only because of the great emphasis recently given to persons so defined in Chinese Communist terminology. A concerted effort is being made to bring them within the membership of other, more formal organizations which would simplify their use and control.

Late in 1955 the campaign to "unite and reform" intellectuals was begun under United Front Department auspices in the form of speeches and discussions at special meetings of the various satellite political parties. For example, at the meeting of the China Democratic League in December 1955, the league heard its vice chairman state, "It is necessary for intellectuals — particularly those who have a high social position or possess high technical and special knowledge — to make further contribution to the Socialist construction and to conduct a thorough review and study of the various aspects of work, life, and learning among the intellectuals, as well as their existing problems. This will assist the Party and Government in further improving the unity and Socialist transformation of the intellectuals." All other satellite parties adopted similar proclamations. An article in *People's Daily* on 20 January 1956 told of a number of professors and teachers who had been admitted to Communist Party membership and urged the party to admit more to membership to strengthen its ideological and political leadership over intellectuals as a group.

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The CCP called a conference from January 14 to 20 to consider the subject, and MAO Tse-tung called on "all members to master scientific knowledge diligently and to unite with intellectuals outside the Party so that the country may quickly catch up with the advanced level of world science." Among 61 speeches delivered and 29 other speeches printed and issued at the CCP conference on the subject, that of Premier CHOU En-lai called for an end to the policy of "closed-doorism" under which the intelligentsia had been denied party membership and called for the party to enroll one-third of the "high-level" intellectuals within the next six years. This position revealed quite a reversal of the attitude expressed by the campaign against intellectuals in 1955 after the announced arrest of the HU Feng group and the conviction of members as counterrevolutionaries. CHOU called for a policy of trusting intellectuals and relieving them of other duties so that they could concentrate on their specialties, referred to them as "precious property of the state," called for a policy of "taking care of all old-fashioned intellectuals," and demanded development and mobilization of the current strength of the intellectuals. CHOU estimated that there were 3.84 million intellectuals in China, of whom he classed 100,000 as "high-level." He said that one-third of the latter have entered this category since 1949. CHOU divided intellectuals into four groups: (1) CCP members; (2) candidates and potential candidates for party membership; (3) middle-of-the-roaders; (4) counterrevolutionary elements. Apparently there had been many complaints from intellectuals, for CHOU demanded that they be given regular hours for their own functional work, free from compulsory political study and conferences; that they be relieved of the many concurrent jobs to which they had been assigned; that they should not be required to "listen to certain long lectures repeatedly"; that those who "have been assigned to positions completely alien to their past training" be reassigned to make better use of their talents; that their living conditions be improved by better food and housing for high-level persons and relief from having to earn a livelihood; that their ideological transformation be accelerated; and that they be permitted to join the CCP.

To expedite the implementation of the new CCP line, the State Council was directed by the CCP Central Committee to set up a China Specialists Bureau responsible for "unified planning, unified examination and supervision in questions of an administra-

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tive character concerning high-level intellectuals, having authority to correct, in accordance with established procedures, any improper handling of matters by various departments concerned relating to high-level intellectuals. Under the supervision of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee (CCP), the various departments concerned should take direct charge of questions of a political character in connection with the intellectuals, of the question of continuing ideological reform, and of the question of handling counterrevolutionaries."

This CCP conference was shortly followed by a national meeting of the CPPCC, at which time the various non-Communist political parties competed with one another in speechmaking and resolutions designed to implement CCP orders on the subject. The programs outlined called not only for developing the potential of "existing" intelligentsia, but also for the strengthening of its ranks with "new blood." The campaign has since been carried down to local and regional levels through organizations and committees of the non-Communist parties, All China federations, other front organizations, and CPPCC organs at those levels.

The following quotes from various broadcasts by Radio Peking in March and April 1956 indicate the results: "Twenty-one professors and assistant professors of various institutes of higher education in Peking were recently admitted to the Communist Party" . . . "During the first 2½ months of 1956, 120 highly trained intellectuals of Shanghai joined the Chinese Communist Party" . . . "A national committee for the admission of students to institutions of higher learning has been formed in Peking to strengthen the guidance in enrollment of such students this year" . . . "Many noted engineers, scientists and professors have joined the CCP" . . . "Eighteen highly trained intellectuals in Kweichow joined the Communist Party on March 26" . . . "CCP organs at all levels in Mukden recently admitted 30 high-level intellectuals as party members" . . . "More than 700 professors and instructors attended a lecture on how to strive to become a Communist Party member at Hsinghua University in Peking on March 21" . . . CHOU En-lai's report on the intelligentsia question "has been translated into the Mongolian, Tibetan, Korean, Uighur, and Kazak languages, and the versions will soon be published in separate editions" . . . "In response to the call of the Central Committee of the CCP, the work of formulating a 12-year, long-range national plan for natural and social sci-

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ences has been carried out during the past two months. With a view to strengthening leadership in scientific planning work, the State Council has formed a scientific planning committee. Chairman is CHEN I. Vice chairmen are LI Fu-chun, KUO Mo-jo, PO I-po, and LI Szu-kuang" . . . "The First Commercial Bureau of Shanghai is taking effective steps to readjust its supply of subsidiary food to intellectuals . . . and is working, together with the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and other educational and cultural organizations, to map out an over-all plan for increasing the supply of textbooks, stationery, and research equipment to intellectuals" . . . "In Shansi, Hunan, and Chungking a group of intellectuals recently joined the CCP. Many of these intellectuals were elected advanced producers and labor models" . . . "864 intellectuals were admitted to the CCP in Kansu Province . . . 73 of them are high-level intellectuals."

Peking Radio stated 9 May 1956, "According to statistics for January through April, proper arrangements were made for some 6,470 unemployed intellectuals in Fukien. They are now working in various government departments, commercial firms, factories, schools, and agricultural cooperatives."

Another Peking broadcast on 28 April 1956 said, "Many governmental organs and schools in Szechwan have improved working conditions of highly trained intellectuals. The Health Bureau of Chengtu recently bought medical equipment for hospitals and plans to buy reference books on medicine. Szechwan University organized a touring group composed of professors and librarians to visit institutions of higher learning in Peking, Tientsin, and Shanghai. The Chengtu Engineering College has decided to build a study room exclusively for instructors."

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## PART IV

### OTHER FRONT ORGANIZATIONS IN COMMUNIST CHINA

#### *A. General*

This section describes people's organizations or fronts on a national level, other than the All China federations, inside Communist China. An All China federation is an organizational device used by the CCP to mobilize, control, and channel the energies of all persons in a particular social, economic, professional, religious, or vocational group. For example, the ACFTU was formed by the CCP for the purpose of mobilizing and directing the energies of all members of the laboring class; the ACFLAC was established for the purpose of mobilizing journalists, writers, and other artists. Practically all elements of the population not already organized under the Party, the government, the military, or the satellite political parties have been drawn into group activity by one or another of the various All China federations.

A front, other than the All China federations, is an instrument used by the CCP to mobilize a number of federations and important persons in support of an important propaganda program. Membership in such front organizations cuts across the social, professional, and vocational lines which are used to determine the composition of a federation. For example, the National Illiteracy Elimination Association, a front organization with responsibility for implementing the nationwide campaign to eliminate illiteracy, was formed by representatives of student, youth, women's, labor, and other mass organizations. The Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, a front for increasing cultural exchange with non-Communist countries, was formed by the joint action of the ACFTU, ACFDY, ACSF, ACDWF, and other mass organizations.

Only the important fronts have been discussed in this section. In the brief accounts which follow, emphasis has been placed on identifying key figures in each of the fronts and describing each organization's function.

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*B. China Peace Committee (CPC)*

The CPC was formed in October 1950, when the previous China Peace Committee and the "Chinese People's Committee to Resist American Aggression and Aid Korea" were merged. Virtually all important persons in the CCP, non-Communist political parties, All China federations, and other front organizations are said to be members of the CPC. Headquarters is in Peking, and branches are located in all principal regions and municipalities. The CPC has its own Liaison, Organization, and Propaganda Departments.

Officials of the CPC include:

Chairman	KUO Mo-jo
Vice Chairmen	CH'EN Shu-t'ung LIAO Ch'eng-chih P'ENG Chen SHEN Yen-ping (MAO Tun) Mme. SOONG Ching-ling
Secretary General	LIU Kuan-i
Deputy Secretaries General	KUO Tse-ch'en TS'UI Yüeh-li WU Mao-sun

*C. Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (ACRFC)*

The ACRFC was founded on 3 May 1954 in Peking at a meeting of persons representing various mass and front organizations. According to the New China News Agency, its purpose is "to develop still further the friendly relations between the Chinese people and the people of various other countries and to promote cultural exchange between them." Elaborating upon the same theme, the 1955 *People's Handbook* listed the following among the functions of the ACRFC: (1) to pass upon joint delegations, joint exhibitions, memorial meetings, demonstrations, the exchange of materials and publications, and correspondence and liaison activities designed to introduce the achievements of Chinese culture to the peoples of other countries; (2) to introduce the cultural achievements of other countries to the Chinese people; and (3) to create closer relations with its counterparts abroad (i. e., other societies for cultural relations with foreign countries), with friendship associations, and with other organizations.

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A survey of its activities discloses that the ACRFC was formed to conduct the Chinese Communist cultural offensive, principally in non-Communist nations. Relations with the Soviet orbit are provided for by numerous diplomatic agreements on cultural exchange and frequent government-to-government contact.

Officials of the ACRFC:

Chairman	CH'U T'u-nan
Vice Chairmen	TING Hsi-lin YANG Han-sheng CHAO I-min
Secretary General	CH'EN Chung-ching
Deputy Secretary General	WU Hua-chih

*D. Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (PIFA)*

The PIFA was established in December 1949. Its ostensible function is to conduct academic research on important international questions. According to its constitution, the PIFA can make suggestions to the Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It has been especially active in developing contacts with government officials, particularly legislators, in non-Communist countries and in campaigning for recognition of the Peking government, or closer ties if recognition has already been extended. In the past 18 months the PIFA has been host to lawmakers from Japan, Indonesia, India, France, Italy, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, Finland, and other countries. The PIFA, unlike other front and mass organizations in China, appears to be an exclusive club in which membership is limited to senior officials in the Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and others who, because of previous training and experience, might be useful in informal diplomacy with non-Communist countries. It is probable that only those above the rank of Division Director in the Foreign Ministry are eligible for membership on the Board of Directors of PIFA. The general membership seems, however, to be more diversified. For example, it was announced by Radio Peking on 23 August 1956 that CHENG Wen-hua, a recently returned student who had studied international law in the United States, had been assigned to the working staff of the PIFA.

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Officials of the PIFA:

Honorary Chairman	CHOU En-lai
Chairman	CHANG Hsi-jo
Vice Chairmen	CHOU Keng-sheng CH'EN Han-sheng HO Wu-shuang HU Yü-chih CH'EN Tuan-sheng CH'IAO Kuan-hua LI En-ch'iu LO Lung-chi
Secretary General	WU Mao-sun
Deputy Secretaries General	LIU Chin-chung TUAN Po-yu HSIAO Hsiang-ch'ien

*E. Chinese People's Parliamentary Group (CPPG)*

In addition to participating actively in the functions of the international Communist front organizations, Communist China is attempting to gain admission to non-Communist international organizations. In July 1955, at its second session, the National People's Congress of China formed the CPPG. Its purpose is to gain admission to the Interparliamentary Union (IPU), an association of legislative bodies the aim of which is to promote personal contacts between lawmakers throughout the world and eventually in the United Nations. The CPPG announced that a delegation from China, consisting of twenty-seven persons, would attend the 44th Conference of the IPU, which was scheduled to open 25 August 1955 in Helsinki. The 27 persons named to this delegation included P'ENG Chen as chief, CH'ENG Ch'ien and LIAO Ch'eng-chih as deputies, and LI I-mang as secretary.

Only two of the delegates, LI I-mang and WU Wen-tao, actually made the trip. When the Conference announced its decision to defer the question of seating Communist China, the CPPG protested vigorously. The question was raised at subsequent meetings of the IPU's Executive Committee. At its meeting held in Dbrovnik in April 1956, the Executive Committee announced that it would not consider the question of admitting Communist China until the United Nations has resolved this problem. Observers

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from Communist China were invited to attend the 45th Conference of the IPU in Bangkok in November 1956.

Officials of the CPPG:

Chairman	P'ENG Chen
Vice Chairmen	CH'ENG Ch'ien TAN Kah-kee (CH'EN Chia-keng) LI Chu-ch'en LIN Feng CHANG Po-chün LIAO Ch'eng-chih SAI Fu-ting (SAIFUDIN) MA Yin-ch'u
Secretary General	WU K'o-ch'ien
Deputy Secretaries General	CH'U Wu KUNG P'u-sheng WU Mao-sun

*F. China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade  
(CCPIT)*

The CCPIT was established in May 1952. It has two main objectives: (1) to persuade businessmen in non-Communist countries that strategic embargoes on trade with the Soviet bloc and China are detrimental to their own best interests; and (2) to develop trade relations with non-Communist countries. It is closely affiliated with the International Committee for Promotion of Trade (ICPT), a world Communist front. The CCPIT has also sent numerous trade delegations to Japan, South Asia, the Near and Middle East, Africa, Europe, and Latin America; sponsored numerous exhibits at the various international fairs; and concluded trade agreements with commercial groups in Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, Ceylon, Egypt, Burma, India, and other non-Communist countries.

Officials of the CCPIT:

Chairman	NAN Han-ch'en
Vice Chairmen	CHU K'o-chen LEI Jen-min LI Chu-ch'en CHI Ch'ao-ting

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Secretary General	CHI Ch'ao-ting (concurrent)
Deputy Secretaries General	WEN Shih-chen CH'I Wei-li HSIAO Fang-chou SHU Hsu-tung (SHU Tzu-ch'ing) YU K'o-ch'ien
Chief of the Liaison Department	HSIEH Hsiao-nai
Special Commissioner	YANG Yi-chih

*G. All China Association for Dissemination of Scientific and Technical Knowledge (ADSTK)*

Headquarters are in Peking. ADSTK is affiliated closely with the All China Federation of Scientific Societies and is usually mentioned along with the latter. It is comparable to the Soviet organization known as "Association for Popularizing Political and Scientific Knowledge of the USSR." It produces exhibits and motion pictures, gives lectures, and publishes materials on popular science. At a meeting of the association in February 1956 it was claimed that 31 branch associations had been formed at regional or provincial level throughout the country and that 110 branch associations had been established by provincial governments at the municipal and county level. It was also claimed that 36,000 specialists, professors, engineers, medical doctors, and other scientists and technicians had joined these associations.

During the previous five years the associations were said to have sponsored over 48,000 scientific lectures and reports, presented over 3,100 scientific exhibits, and compiled over 2,300 categories of reading materials in popular science, of which 13 million copies were distributed. The association sponsors two magazines on popular science with a claimed circulation of 142,000 copies. The February 1956 announcement said: "In order to assist the people in establishing a materialist world outlook and in overcoming superstitious ideas, the Association has conducted publicity on the history and development of nature, the solar and lunar eclipse, and other subjects."

Lectures are held on the Soviet Union and on Soviet accomplishments in science and technology. The All China Federation of Trade Unions alone is said to have requested the association to present 390,000 lectures to trade-union groups in 1956, and

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the People's Liberation Army was claimed to have asked that each soldier and officer be given the opportunity to hear at least one lecture per month. Similar requests were said to have been made by the farmer cooperatives. The association is affiliated with the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. It also works closely with the Academy of Sciences and includes many of the academy's members within its own membership.

Officials of the ADSTK include:

Honorary Chairman	WU Yü-chang
Chairman	LIANG Hsi
Vice Chairmen	CH'EN Feng-t'ung CHU K'o-chen MAO I-sheng (aka MAO, Eason) TING Hsi-lin LI (LEE) Ssu-kuang
Secretary General	HSIA K'ang-nung
Deputy Secretaries General	YÜAN Han-ch'ing SHEN Ch'i-i P'ENG Ch'ing-chao

*H. National Illiteracy Elimination Association (NIEA)*

The NIEA is one of those special groups set up by Communist China to achieve specific results and to engage in propaganda activities in connection with the implementation of its objectives. There are many of these groups. Another, for example, is the "National Committee for the Admission of Students to Institutions of Higher Learning." These are ad hoc groups in that they exist only until their assigned tasks are uncompleted.

The aim of this association is to assist the government to mobilize and organize all persons and forces available in China in eliminating widespread illiteracy among masses of the Chinese people. Anyone willing to assist in this task may join the association; membership of entire groups, such as the All China Federation of Trade Unions, is encouraged. Subsidiary groups are organized, down to the lowest level of villages, streets, and roads.

CHEN I, member of the CCP Central Committee, vice chairman of the State Council, and Mayor of Shanghai, is president of the Association. Vice chairmen and executive committee mem-

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bers are drawn from persons engaged in education, propaganda, minority groups, religious circles, youth organizations, and the entire range of organizations controlling the masses. The secretary general is LIN Han-ta, representative to the National People's Congress from Shanghai and a member of the executive committee of the China Association for Promoting Democracy, one of the satellite political parties. The association was formally established in March 1956 to eradicate illiteracy in China within five to seven years. China New Democratic Youth League (now Young Communist League) organs were urged to establish illiteracy-eradication teams. Some idea of the project can be gained from the following summary of a news dispatch from Peking on 3 April 1956:

"Some 380,000 persons in Peking are now attending literacy classes. They represent more than half the total number of people in the capital who are unable to read and write. Among them are practically all illiterate industrial workers, two-thirds of the illiterate peasants in the Peking area, workers in the commercial enterprises, and many handicraftsmen."

If this represents approximately half the illiterate in Peking, the total illiterates would be 760,000 out of an approximate total population of less than 2,000,000, or more than one-third of the population of China's most advanced city.

In Kwangtung and Tsingtao more than four million illiterates and semi-illiterates, representing one-third of Kwangtung's illiterates and semi-illiterates, were said now to be in schools. In Tsingtao city 154,000 illiterates and semi-illiterates, about 59 percent of the total illiterates and semi-illiterates in that city, were to be given instruction.

In a speech of 9 May 1956, CH'EN Chun-jui, prominent member of various front organizations and vice-director of the Second Staff Office of the State Council, claimed that, as of March 1956, 75 million peasants were attending literacy classes. He claimed 210,000 students graduated from college in Communist China between 1949 and 1955. He called for effort to learn modern sciences and technology, not only from Communist but from capitalist countries as well.

Officers of the NIEA:

Chairman

CH'EN I

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Vice Chairmen	CHANG Hsi-jo HU Yao-pang LIN Feng MAO I-sheng (aka MAO, Eason) TUNG Chün-ts'ai WU Yü-chang
Secretary General	LIN Han-ta

*I. Sino-Soviet Friendship Association (SSFA)*

The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association is in reality simply a front organization with a mass membership in Communist China and is not to be viewed in the light of the China friendship associations in the free, non-Sino-Soviet bloc nations.

The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association was established in 1950 after MAO Tse-tung returned from Moscow. It is a mass front organization claiming a membership of more than 50,000,000 (or perhaps more, now that the All China Federation of Democratic Youth, the CCP, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and others of the All China federations are reported to have joined the SSFA en bloc). Branches are in every major city and scattered throughout all the provinces of China. The SSFA is a major instrument in the over-all Communist design to Sovietize Chinese politics, economics, and thought and to tie the Chinese people solidly into the international Communist movement. The SSFA is the parent and sponsor of such friendship societies as the Japan-Soviet Friendship Society, the Japan-China Friendship Association, and similar groups in Asian countries in which the governments permit them to exist. Among the advantages of these friendship associations are their informality of membership, simplicity of implementation, adaptability to propaganda use, and suitability for concealing their real objectives.

Among the activities and functions of the SSFA as indicated from various reports are the following:

a. Convincing the Chinese people of the advantages of the presence of Soviet advisers and praising their accomplishments on behalf of China. One of the slogans is "Leaning to One Side" (meaning closer relations with the Soviets).

b. Promoting and conducting annual celebrations of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance, and of anniversaries of the October Revolution.



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c. Adopting and spreading Communist doctrines and giving voice to both international Communist propaganda and that intended for internal consumption in China.

d. Organizing and sending delegations to international meetings, to the Soviet Union for study, and on cultural jaunts throughout Asia and the iron curtain countries to foster and promote the concept of Communist solidarity.

e. Establishing and promoting Russian-language classes among all groups in China.

f. Promoting annual Sino-Soviet Friendship Month activities.

g. Fostering anti-American, anti-imperialist, and "peace" lines of propaganda as originated in Moscow.

Ostensible objectives are described in the definition of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association as given in the *Guide to New China* for 1952, in which the SSFA is listed as one of the "people's organizations," as follows: "The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association is a social organization of the Chinese people. Its aims are to develop and consolidate friendship and cooperation between the Chinese and the Soviet peoples, to accelerate the interflow of knowledge and experience between them, and to strengthen the close unity between the two nations in their common struggle for lasting world peace. The Association, established on 5 October 1949, in Peking, has 1,260 branches, 44,778 sub-branches, and a membership of 18 million."

Since its establishment, according to the 1952 *Guide to New China*, it has "sponsored and conducted various activities for the strengthening of friendship between China and the Soviet Union, including lectures, exhibitions, films, slides, the publication of pamphlets, and the exchange of cultural delegations. During the past two years the Association and its branches have published 74 periodicals and more than 500 pamphlets; it has sent out 140 projection teams to present film shows to the people of various places. The reports of 48 teams record a total of 7,466 cinema shows with an aggregate attendance of 12,097,000 people."

By means of propaganda and educational activities the Association seeks intensive indoctrination of the Chinese people with knowledge of the social and governmental systems of the Soviet Union, and its achievements in socialist reconstruction and production, thus "helping the Chinese people to understand how

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the Soviet people live and work under the socialist system and many other aspects of life in the Soviet Union."

The Association has on the other hand "made available to the Soviet people information and material concerning the life and the reconstruction work of the Chinese people. A constant flow of books, pictorials, musical records, and films describing the new life of the Chinese people is sent to the Soviet Union by the Association."

A Peking Chinese Home Service Broadcast of 12 February 1953 stated, "Commemorating the third anniversary of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance, the Peking Chapter of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association and the Soviet VOKS in Peking held a meeting on the evening of February 12 at which TENG Tai-yuan, Minister of Railways of the Central People's Government, delivered a report.

"Among those who attended were responsible personnel of the Peking SSFA chapter and SSFA members in various Government offices, people's organizations, factories, enterprises, and schools in Peking, totaling more than 1,000 people. In addition, more than 100 Soviet friends attended the meeting, including the Soviet VOKS delegates and personnel of the Soviet Embassy in China."

Soviet Friendship Societies are described in Staff Study No. 3, "The Soviet Propaganda Program," published by the Sub-Committee on Overseas Information Programs of the United States of the U. S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. A partial quotation follows: "Next to the members of the foreign Communist parties, the most important supporting elements for Soviet propaganda are the myriad Soviet Friendship Societies. Originally, these were tiny groups virtually indistinguishable from the Communist Parties themselves. . . .

"The postwar pattern of the Friendship Societies in the West is still to serve primarily as instruments for reaching an audience normally unreceptive to outright Communist propaganda and which might be reached by appeals to peace, humanism, and cultural understanding. To this end, most of their publicized leaders are whatever clergymen, professors, philanthropists, and other non-Communists that can be persuaded to participate. Louis Nemzer, who has written authoritatively on the subject, states that even if the cold war pressures make membership fall

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off more sharply than has so far been the case, these societies will be retained as a weapon which proved its worth in rallying foreign masses to support of the U.S.S.R. in a crucial situation and may be able to do so again. Within the Soviet orbit itself the Friendship Societies have become an important device for cementing the satellites to the Soviet Union."

Officials of the SSFA include:

Chairman	LIN Po-chü
Vice Chairmen	CH'ENG Ch'ien
	HUANG Yen-pei
	KUO Mo-jo
	LI Ssu-kuang (J. S. LEE)
	LI Te-ch'üan
	LI Chu-ch'en
	LI Chi-shen
	LIAO Ch'eng-chih
	LIN Piao
	LIU Ning-i
	MA Hsü-lun
	MA Yin-ch'u
	Saifudin
	SHAO Li-tzu
	SHEN Chun-ju
	SOONG Ching-ling (f)
	Ulanfu
	WU Yü-chang
Secretary General	CH'EN Chün-jui
Deputy Secretaries	KO Pao-ch'uan
General	YEN Pao-hang

Election of 80 members of the executive board was announced in December 1954. Members include important members in the CCP, satellite parties, mass organizations, national minority groups, overseas Chinese affairs, and leaders in Communist fronts both within China and in international Communist fronts.

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## APPENDIX A

### ABBREVIATIONS FOR ORGANIZATION TITLES USED IN THIS COMPILATION

ACAMS	All China Association of Medical Societies
ACDWF	All China Democratic Women's Federation
ACFC	All China Federation of Cooperatives
ACFDY	All China Federation of Democratic Youth
ACFICA	All China Federation of Industry and Commerce Associations
ACFJ	All China Federation of Journalists (All China Journalists' Association)
ACFLAC	All China Federation of Literature and Art Circles
ACFS	All China Federation of Students
ACFSS	All China Federation of Scientific Societies
ACRFC	Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries
ACSF	All China Sports Federation
ACUC	All China Union of Commerce
ADSTK	All China Association for Dissemination of Scientific and Technical Knowledge
APPLC	Asian Pacific Peace Liaison Committee
ASC	Asian Solidarity Committee
CAPD	China Association for Promoting Democracy
CBA	China Buddhist Association
CBFA	China-Burma Friendship Association
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CCPIT	China Committee for Promotion of International Trade

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NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

CDL	China Democratic League
CDNCA	China Democratic National Construction Association
CIFA	China-India Friendship Association
CINFA	China-Indonesia Friendship Association
CISA	China Islamic Association
CJFA	China-Japan Friendship Association
CKT	Chih Kung Tang
CNDYL	China New Democratic Youth League (now known as Chinese Young Communist League)
COCA	Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs
CPC	China Peace Committee
CPG	Chinese People's Government
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CPPG	Chinese People's Parliamentary Group
CPWDP	China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party
CRC	Christian Religious Circles
CSS	Chiu San Society
FA	Friendship Association
FISE	World Federation of Teachers Unions
IADL	International Association of Democratic Lawyers
ICPT	International Committee for Promotion of Trade
IOJ	International Organization of Journalists
IUS	International Union of Students
KMT	Kuomintang
KMTRC	Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee
NCNA	New China News Agency
NIEA	National Illiteracy Elimination Association
NPC	National People's Congress
OIR	International Broadcasting Organization
PIFA	Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRMC	People's Revolutionary Military Committee
PSLA	Political Science and Law Association of China
SSFA	Sino-Soviet Friendship Association
TDSGL	Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League
UFD	United Front Department of CCP
WCD	World Congress of Doctors
WFSW	World Federation of Scientific Workers
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions
WIDF	Women's International Democratic Federation
WPC	World Peace Committee (Council)
YCL	Chinese Young Communist League

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

## APPENDIX B

### ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CHINESE NAMED IN THIS COMPILATION

A Wang-chia-ts'o (Awongjaotso) — CBA.

AI Ssu-ch'i — ACRFC board of directors; CPC National Committee; member CPPCC.

Ali-chang (Mohammed Ali Chang) (CHANG Yu-tseng) (CHANG Yu-chen) — CISA.

BURHAN (BURHAN Shahidi) (PAO-Erh-han) (Burhan Al-Din Shahidi) — Moslem, WPC, CPC, PSLA, ASC, CPPCC, chairman of CISA, Indonesia FA, Egypt FA; member cultural and religious groups visiting non-Communist countries; PIFA board of directors; member Nationalities Committee of NPC; educated in Berlin; ACRFC Standing Committee.

CHANG Chi-lung — ACFC.

CHANG Chieh — CISA, Pakistan FA.

CHANG Chih-chung — KMTRC; NPC Standing Committee; CPPCC Standing Committee; National Defense Council.

CHANG Chih-hsiang — Vice Minister of Culture; on parliamentary delegations to non-Communist countries.

CHANG Chih-jang — PSLA, IADL, PIFA, member ASC, CPC National Committee, member CPPCC; Vice Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

CHANG Ch'in-ch'iu (f) (Mme. CH'EN Ch'ang-hao) — ACDWF Executive Committee, CPC National Committee; SSFA Executive board; delegate WIDF Congress 1948.

CHANG Ch'ing-ch'un — ACUC; vice minister of Commerce.

CHANG Ch'ing-sung — ACAMS.

CHANG Han-fu (HSIEH Chi-tai) — ACFJ, PIFA executive council; board of directors Bank of China; Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs; delegate Asian-African Conference, Bandung, 1955.

CHANG Hsi — Union of Chinese Writers.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

- CHANG Hsi-jo (Shirow Y. CHANG) — ACRFC board of directors, Indonesia FA, NIEA, chairman of PIFA; member Parliamentary and other groups visiting non-Communist countries; CPPCC Standing Committee; CPC National Committee; Peking SSFA; delegate APPLC Conference October 1952; Minister of Education; delegate to WPC Prague April 1949.
- CHANG Hsiu-chu — ACFTU.
- CHANG Nai-ch'i — CDNCA; member CCPIT Central Committee; vice chairman ACFICA; CPPCC Standing Committee; board of directors Bank of China; CPC Standing Committee; SSFA; Minister of Food; NPC Standing Committee.
- CHANG Po-chün — WPC since 1950, CDL, chairman CPWDP, vice chairman CPPCC, CPPG, CPC Standing Committee, SSFA, Minister of Communications; head of Regional Work Committee of CPPCC.
- CHANG Shu-yi (f) — Deputy Secretary General, National Committee for Defense of Children (ACDWF).
- CHANG Wei-chen — ACFTU secretariat; member WFTU general council; veteran labor organizer since 1925.
- CHANG Wei-i — CPPCC.
- CHANG Wen-hao — ACFS.
- CHANG Yu-chen — (See CHANG Yu-tseng).
- CHANG Yu-tseng (Mohammed Ali) (Ali Chang) (CHANG Yu-chen) — CISA.
- CHANG Yün-ch'uan — CDL, CPWDP Central Committee.
- CHANG Yün (f) — Vice chairman and member of secretariat of ACDWF; CPPG Executive Committee; CPPCC National Committee; member NIEA; headed women's good will mission to France December 1954.
- CHAO Cheng-chih — ACUC.
- CHAO Feng — ACRFC board of directors; ASC; Malaya FA; member cultural group visiting non-Communist countries.
- CHAO Fu-san — CRC; ACRFC board of directors; deputy secretary of Peking YMCA.
- CHAO Hsu-ping — CPPCC.



SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

CHAO I-min — Vice chairman ACRFC, ACAMS, WPC, CCP Propaganda Department, member ASC, CPPCC National Committee, visited Argentina August 1954 and Chile in July 1954. Member of cultural delegation to non-Communist countries.

CHAO Kuo-ch'iang — WFTU, ACFTU Central Committee, member Trade Unions group visiting non-Communist countries.

CHAO Po-chu — (See CHAO P'u-ch'u).

CHAO P'u-ch'u (CHAO Po-chu) — ACRFC board of directors, CPC, CBA, WPC.

CHAO Tz'u-chen (CHAO Tsu-chen) — CRC; dean of Theological Department, Yenching University.

CH'E Hsiang-shen (CH'E Hsiang-ch'en) — CAPD, CDL Central Committee, member Liaoning CPPCC, SSFA executive board.

CH'EN Chen-lei — ACFS.

CH'EN Ch'i-yu — CKT, member ASC, SSFA executive committee, CPPG Executive Committee, CPPCC Standing Committee.

CH'EN Ch'i-yüan — FROCA, Chief Social Welfare Section, CPPCC; represented Overseas Chinese on NPC 1954; Vice Minister of Interior; CPC National Committee; KMTRC Standing Committee.

CH'EN Chia-keng (see TAN Kah-kee) — FROCA, CPPCC, CPPG.

CH'EN Chien-chen — CRC.

CH'EN Ching-yü — Member ASC, ACFICA, CDNCA Central Committee, CPPCC National Committee, Wuhan CPC and SSFA, one of founders of CISA.

CH'EN Chung-ching (CH'EN Chiao) — Secretary general of ACRFC, Burma FA; connected with Ministry of Foreign Affairs; acting director of Liaison Bureau for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries under State Council.

CH'EN Chung-kuei — CRC.

CH'EN Feng-ping — CCPIT.

CH'EN Han-sheng — ACRFC board of directors, Indonesia FA, WPC, ASC, PIFA; member CCPIT Central Committee; deputy director International Relations Institute of Academy of Sciences.

CH'EN Hui — CAPD.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

CH'EN I — ACRFC board of directors, NIEA, SSFA executive board, CPPCC Standing Committee, vice chairman of National Defense Council, Vice Premier, member CCP Central Committee.

CH'EN K'ang-pai — ACRFC board of directors, ACFSS.

CH'EN Lien(f) — Vice Chairman, Young Pioneers.

CH'EN Pai-ch'en — Union of Chinese Writers.

CH'EN Shao-hsien — CPC, KMTRC Central Committee, CPPG Executive Committee, NPC Standing Committee.

CH'EN Shao-min (f) — WFTU, ACFTU, CCP Central Committee, CPPCC Standing Committee, ACDWF Executive Committee.

CH'EN Shu-t'ung — WPC, vice chairman CPC, Japan FA, SSFA, vice chairman CPPCC, chairman ACFICA, CPPG, member FIFA board of directors, NPC National Committee.

CH'EN Ti-chang — CPC; member executive committee PSLA.

CH'EN Tse — Deputy Secretary General, KMTRC.

CH'EN Tsung-kuei (Robin T. S. CHEN) — CRC; vice chairman of "Patriotic Movement of Chinese Christians"; vice chairman of National Committee of Protestant Churches in China.

CH'EN Wen-kuei — ACAMS.

CH'EN Yü — WFTU, ACRFC board of directors, ACFTU Central Committee, CPPCC National Committee, Minister of Coal Industry.

CHENG Chen-to (Hsi-ti) — ACRFC board of directors, Burma FA, CPC, WPC delegate (1949), ACFLAC, ASC, CPPCC, headed cultural delegation to Burma in February 1955; headed good will mission to Indonesia June 1955; Vice Minister of Culture.

CHENG Ch'ien — KMTRC, Central Committee CPPG, SSFA.

CHENG Fang-wu — Japan FA, CPC, WPC, member of peace groups visiting non-Communist countries.

CHENG, Rev. Marcus — CRC.

CHENG Shen-yu — ASC, CPC, WPC.

CHENG T'ien-pao — CKT, member executive committee FROCA, CPPCC Standing Committee; represents Canton in NPC.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

CH'ENG Tzu-hua — All China Federation of Cooperatives; member NPC Standing Committee; member CCP Central Committee.

CHENG Wen-hua — PIFA.

CHENG Yu — ACFTU Secretariat; works in Policy and International Labor Departments of ACFTU; travelled to Switzerland and Communist countries.

CHI Ch'ao-ting — Secretary general of CCPIT, ICPT, ACRFC board of directors; member of trade, peace and cultural groups visiting Communist and non-Communist countries; member PIFA board of directors; SSFA executive board; member Bank of China board of directors; member executive committee ACFICA.

CHI Fang — CPWDP; CPPCC National Committee; CDL Central Committee.

CHI Su-hua — ACAMS.

CH'I Wei-li — CCPIT; director Shanghai office Ministry of Foreign Trade; headed trade delegation to Tunis, France, International Fair, October 1956.

CHIANG Ch'ang-ch'uan — CRC.

CHIANG Nan-hsiang — President of Tsinghua University; member delegation to Inter-Parliamentary Union meeting, Finland, August 1955; CPPG Executive Committee; YCL Standing Committee; CPC member; CPPCC Standing Committee.

CH'IAO Kuan-hua (CH'IAO Mu) — PIFA, WFDY; assistant to Minister of Foreign Affairs; advisor at Bandung and Geneva Conferences; member CPPCC; CPC National Committee; headed former International News Bureau, News Administration.

CH'IENT Chün-jui — WPC, WFDY, CPC, ACRFC board of directors, ACFDY Central Committee, SSFA executive board and secretary general; member PIFA board of directors; member NIEA; CPPCC National Committee; Vice Minister of Culture; deputy chief, Second Staff Office of State Council.

CH'IENT Li-jen — WFDY, IUS, ACFDY, ACFS.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

- CH'EN San-ch'iang — WFDY, ACFDY, WFSW, ACFSS, Burma FA; member WPC 1953-1955; CPPCC Standing Committee; member Scientific Planning Committee of State Council; CPC member; attended many peace and youth front international conferences.
- CH'EN Ta-wei — IUS, ACFDY Central Committee, WFDY, ACFS, member of Students delegation to non-Communist countries.
- CH'EN Tuan-sheng — WPC, ACRFC board of directors, Pakistan FA, PSLA, IADL, PIFA; professor of constitutional law; headed scientific delegation to Pakistan 1955; CDL Standing Committee; CPPCC Standing Committee; CPC National Committee.
- CH'EN Wei-ch'ang — Burma FA, ACRFC board of directors; ACFDY; vice president of Tsinghua University.
- CHIN Chih-fu — WFTU, ACFTU Executive Committee; member of trade union delegation visiting non-Communist countries; chairman China Coal Miners Union.
- CHIN Chung-hua (aka CHIN Hsiao-yu, C. K. King, Benjamin King) — ACFJ, IOJ, ASC; delegate to WPC May 1954; CPC; member WPC 1953-1955.
- CHIN Hsiao-yu — See CHIN Chung-hua.
- CHOU Cheng — FROCA.
- CHOU Chien-jen — CAPD; CPPCC Standing Committee; NPC Standing Committee; CPC National Committee; CDL Central Committee; SSFA; former editor; Nepal FA; Vice Minister of Higher Education.
- CHOU Ch'ing-wen — CDL.
- CHOU En-lai — CPPCC, PIFA, CCP Secretariat, Premier, Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- CHOU Jung-hsin — ACFSS; member CCPIT Central Committee; chairman Association of Chinese Architects.
- CHOU Keng-sheng — Thailand FA, PIFA, member of parliamentary groups visiting non-Communist countries.
- CHOU P'ei-yüan — WFSW, CSS Central Committee, chairman Society of Physicists; attended peace and APPLC conferences; head of organization department of ACFSS; vice president of Peking University.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

CHOU Shih-kuan — CPPCC Regional Work Committee.

CHOU Shu-chia — CBA, Nepal FA.

CHOU Yang (CHOW Yang) — ACRFC board of directors, CPC, SSFA, ACFLAC; vice chairman Union of Chinese Writers; deputy head CCP Propaganda Department.

CHU Cheng — WCD, ACAMS, member of medical group visiting non-Communist countries.

CHU Ch'i-wen — IADL, India FA, PSLA; deputy chief 1st Staff Office of State Council; headed delegation to IADL meeting in Leipzig, June 1954.

CHU Hsüeh-fan — WFTU; vice chairman ACFTU; KMTRC Central Committee; SSFA executive board; CPPCC Standing Committee; CPC National Committee; Minister of Posts and Telecommunications.

CHU K'o-chen (aka CHU Co-ching, OU Fang) — ACRFC board of directors, ICPT, ACFSS, ADSTK; member Scientific Planning Committee of State Council; on CPPCC and NPC Standing Committees; CPC National Committee; vice president Academy of Sciences.

CHU Liang (CHU Ling) — WFDY, ACFDY; attended WFDY meetings 1954; member youth delegation to Belgium 1955.

CHU Tsan — CBA.

CH'U T'u-nan — Chairman ACRFC, WPC, ASC, Indonesia FA, Pakistan FA; CDL Central Committee; member of cultural groups visiting non-Communist countries; CPPCC Standing Committee; NIEA; CPC.

CH'U Wu — KMTRC; NPC Standing Committee; deputy head Counsellors Office, State Council; studied at military academy in USSR.

CHUANG Hsi-ch'uan — Malaya FA, FROCA; represents Overseas Chinese in NPC; vice chairman COCA; formerly in business in Singapore and the Philippines.

CHUANG Ming-li — Malaya FA, FROCA.

CHUNG Huai-mo — CRC.

CHUNG Hui-lan — ACAMS; active in ADSTK; attended International Medical Conference, Vienna, May 1953.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

- FAN Ch'ang-chiang (Hsi-wen) — Standing committee ACRFC; WPC; ACFDY Central Committee; ACF TU Central Committee; SSFA, CPC; CPPCC National Committee; deputy secretary general Scientific Planning Committee of State Council; deputy chief 2nd Staff Office, State Council; long associated with NCNA.
- FANG Fang — FROCA; CPPCC National Committee; vice chairman of COCA; represents Kwangtung in NPC; long association with CCP in Fukien and Kwangtung.
- FANG Kuang-yu (f) — ACFS.
- FANG Shih-shan — ACAMS.
- FENG Hsüeh-feng — Union of Chinese Writers.
- FENG Yin-fu — ACFS.
- FU I-ch'eng — ACAMS.
- FU Lien-chang (Nelson FU) — ACRFC board of directors, ACAMS chairman, member of medical group visiting non-Communist countries, Vice Minister of Public Health, CPPCC, ASC member.
- Gelathang (Ko-la-tseng) — CBA.
- Gesho Shirob Galtso (see Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o).
- HO Ch'eng — ACAMS.
- HO Ch'eng-hsiang — CRC, ACRFC board of directors, director of Bureau of Religious Affairs of State Council; deputy director 1st Office of UFD.
- HO Hsiang-ning (Mme. LIAO Chung-K'ai) (f) — WIDF, ACDWF, CPPCC, KMTRC, SSFA executive board; Chairman of COCA; vice chairman CPPCC; deputy to NPC; ACFLAC National Committee.
- HO Kuei-yen — CPPCC Regional Work Committee.
- HO Liu-hua — See LIAO Ch'eng-chih.
- HOU Te-pang (aka Chih-pen) — ACRFC board of directors; ACFSS; headed cultural delegations to India 1954, Pakistan in 1955, and to Italy in 1956; CPC National Committee; ACFICA Executive Committee, ASC, WPC, member of Trade and Cultural Groups visiting non-Communist countries; CPPG Executive Committee; CPPCC Standing Committee.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o (aka Shirob Galtso) — Chairman CBA; India FA; member ASC; Tibetan lama; member CPC; led Buddhist delegation to Burma, April 1955.

HSI Ping (see HSING Hsi-p'ing).

HSIA Yen (aka SHEN Tuan-hsien or SHEN Jui-hsien) — ACRFC board of directors, India FA; national committee of CPC; standing committee of ACFLAC; Vice Minister of Culture; member PIFA board of directors; member CPPCC; member good will mission to India late 1953; active in SSFA.

HSIANG Shu-shiang — CPPCC, CDNCA Executive Committee.

HSIAO Fang-chou — CCPIT.

HSIAO Hsiang-ch'ien — PIFA; deputy head of Economic Research Department of CCPIT.

HSIAO Hua — SSFA executive board, YCL, vice chairman ACSF; colonel general in PLA; director, General Political Department of PLA.

HSIAO Hua-ch'ing — ACFDY, CDL Central Committee

HSIEH Ch'ieh-tsai — Vice chairman PSLA; Minister of Interior; member CPPCC.

HSIEH Hsiao-nai — Head of Liaison Department of CCPIT.

HSIEH Hs'ieh-hung (HSIEH Fei-ying) (f) — TDSGL; ACFDY Central Committee; CPC National Committee; SSFA executive board.

HSIEH Pang-ting (f) — IUS, secretary general of ACFS, ACFDY Central Committee, YCL; CPC National Committee; delegate to WFDY Congress Vienna 1955; headed delegation to international geography seminar in New Delhi 1956; IUS Conference, Moscow 1954; World Peace Congress Vienna 1952.

HSIEH Ping-hsin (aka HSIEH Wan-ying) (f) — Japan FA, WIDF, ASC, CPC, ACRFC board of directors, CAPD, WPC, member of Women's Peace and cultural groups visiting non-Communist countries.

HSIEH Wan-ying (f) — See HSIEH Ping-hsin.

HSIN Chih-ch'ao — CDL Central Committee, deputy secretary general of CPPCC, member NPC National Committee, deputy secretary general of 1954 NPC.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

- HSING Hsi-p'ing (HSÜ Ping) (HSI Ping) — Deputy Director UFD; secretary general of CPPCC; member Standing Committee CPC; member executive committee CPPG.
- HSIUNG K'o-wu (Chin-fan) — KMTRC; member standing committee NPC; CPPG; military man.
- HSÜ Chih-chen — ACFTU.
- HSU Huang — ACFJ.
- HSÜ Kuang-p'ing (f) (Widow of LU Hsun) — WIDF, ACRFC board of directors, ACDWF, CPPCC, NPC, CAPD, CDL Central Committee, WPC, ACFLAC, member of peace groups visiting non-Communist countries.
- HSU Mai-chin — OIR, ACFJ, deputy chief Broadcasting Administration Bureau; CPPCC National Committee.
- HSÜ Ping (See HSING Hsi-p'ing).
- HSÜ Po-hsin — CDL Central Committee; CAPD board of directors; CPPCC.
- HSÜ Te-heng — Chairman of CSS; member of ASC; CPPG; member of standing committee of NPC and CPPCC; PSLA board of directors; WPC delegate 1954; on executive board of SSFA; member of central committee of CDL.
- HSÜ Ti-hsin — Deputy director UFD; CDNCA Executive Committee; vice chairman of ACFICA; member CCPIT Central Committee; CPPCC National Committee; director of 8th Staff Office of State Council; represents Shantung in NPC; director of Industry and Commerce Administration Central Control Bureau of State Council.
- HSU Tzu-ch'ing — See SHU Tzu-ch'ing.
- HU Ch'i-li — IUS, ACFS, member of youth groups visiting non-Communist countries.
- HU Ch'iao-mu — ACFJ; executive board of SSFA; CPC National Committee; deputy chief CCP Propaganda Department; standing committee NPC; national committee of CPPCC.
- HU Chüeh-wen — Vice chairman CDNCA; member ACFICA; standing committee NPC; national committee CPPCC.
- HU Pa — See HU Pa-meng.
- HU Pa-meng (HU Pa) — CBA; member of religious groups visiting non-Communist countries.



SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

- HU Tzu-ang — Standing committee CNDCA, vice chairman ACFICA, member ASC, national committee CPPCC; former vice mayor of Chungking.
- HU Yao-pang — Vice chairman WFDY; ASC; ACFTU Central Committee; ACFDY Central Committee; NIEA; member CPPG; CPPCC and NPC.
- HU Yü-chih — ACRFC board of directors; vice chairman of Indonesia FA; WPC; India FA; vice chairman of PIFA; CPC; NIEA; SSFA; ACFLAC; secretary general of CDL; ACFJ; NPC; CPPCC; NCNA board of directors; head of All China Esperanto League; was director of former Publications Administration of CPG.
- HUA Lo-keng — ACRFC board of directors, WFSW, ACFSS, WPC, ASC.
- HUANG Ch'ang-shui — CDNCA Executive Committee; ACUC; ACFICA; vice chairman Canton FROCA; former resident of Philippines; Burma FA; member ASC; CPPCC; represented Overseas Chinese at NPC 1954; vice mayor of Canton; member board of directors Overseas Chinese Investment Company.
- HUANG Chieh — FROCA.
- HUANG Chieh-jan — CDNCA Executive Committee, ACFICA Executive Committee.
- HUANG Ch'i-hsiang — CDL Central Committee; secretary general of CPWDP and member of Central Committee; PSIA; member PIFA board of directors; CPC National Committee; long military career; member National Defense Council; CPPCC; vice chairman ACFS; member of CPPG and ASC.
- HUANG Chung — ACSF.
- HUANG Sheng-pai — ACAMS.
- HUANG Shu-tse — ACAMS.
- HUANG Ting-ch'en — Member of medical delegation to non-Communist country; one of founders of CKT; represented Overseas Chinese at CPPCC 1949; on national committees of NPC and CPPCC; leader in ADSTK, ACAMS.
- HUANG Yen-pei (aka Jen-chih) — CPPCC; CDL Central Committee; CDNCA; SSFA; NPC; vice chairman SSFA; CPC National Committee; CPPG Executive Committee; Minister of Light Industry 1949-1954.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

- I Li-jung — CPPCC; ACFTU Central Committee; delegate to WPC, Warsaw, 1950; deputy secretary general and on national committee of CPPCC; also member CPPCC Regional Work Committee.
- I Mei-hou (aka HUI Mui Kow) — Thailand FA; overseas delegate to CPPCC and NPC; FROCA; represents Overseas Chinese on ACFICA Executive Committee.
- I Min Makhdum (I-ming MA-ho-su-mu) (Imin Mahosumu) (Iminov) (Shiekh Imin Mahosumu) — Pakistan FA, CISA, vice chairman Sinkiang-Uighur Region, delegate to NPC 1954.
- Jamal-al-din LI Shu (Jalmuddin LI Shu) — CISA, member of religious groups visiting non-Communist countries.
- JUNG I-jen — Vice chairman ACFICA; CDNCA Executive Committee; ACSF; member ASC; delegate to WPC, Stockholm 1956; CPPG Executive Committee; CPPCC National Committee; member board of directors Bank of China; vice Mayor of Shanghai.
- JUNG Kao-t'ang — ACRFC board of directors; YCL; ACSF; member International Olympic Committee; headed delegation to Helsinki Olympic Games 1952; deputy leader delegation to World Festival of Youth and Students, Berlin, 1951.
- K'ANG Cho — Union of Chinese Writers.
- K'ANG K'o-ch'ing (Mme. CHU Teh) (f) — WPC; head of ACDWF Children's Department; SSFA; CPPCC Central Committee; secretary general of China National Committee for Defense of Children (ACDWF).
- KAO Ch'ung-min — CDL; PSLA board of directors; ASC; member CPPG; standing committees of NPC and CPPCC; active in CPC and SSFA.
- KAO Ming-hsien — FROCA.
- KAO Sheng-jen — CRC; secretary of Peking YMCA.
- K'O Chung-p'ing — Union of Chinese Writers.
- Ko-la-tseng (Gelathang) — CBA.
- KO Pao-ch'uan — SSFA; Union of Chinese Writers; counsellor of embassy, Moscow, 1949-1954; former advisor to TASS in Shanghai.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

KO Tun-chien — IUS, ACFS.

KUAN Jo-luan (f) — ACFS.

KUAN Shih-hsiung — ACFDY; president YCL Peking branch.

KUAN Wen-shen — Malaya FA; vice chairman CKT; member COCA; CPPCC; represented Overseas Chinese at NPC 1954; on executive committee Canton Returned Overseas Chinese Association; prior to 1949 was active in CKT and CDL in Malaya.

KUAN Wu — CPPCC.

KUNG Nai-ch'uan — ACAMS.

KUNG P'eng (f) (Mme. CH'IAO Kuan-hua) — WPC; IOJ; ACFDY; PIFA; WFDY; accompanied CHOU En-lai on visit to Southeast Asia, November-December 1956.

KUNG P'u-sheng (f) (Mme. CHANG Han-fu) — WIDF; WPC; ACDWF; member of women's groups visiting non-Communist countries; India FA; department head in Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Kung-te-lin Chin-mei-chih-tsun — CBA.

KUNG T'ien-min — Member Central Committee CDNCA; ACFICA; CPPCC National Committee.

KUO Mo-jo — CPPCC; chairman of CPC; ACFLAC; WPC; ASC; ACRFC board of directors; Japan FA; CPC; SSFA; ACFSS; APPLC; member of cultural and other groups visiting non-Communist countries.

KUO Tse-ch'en (KUO Tse-shen) — CDL Central Committee; delegate to WPC Vienna 1953; CPWDP Central Committee; deputy secretary general of CPPCC; WPC; SSFA; CPC National Committee; member CPPCC Regional Work Committee.

LAI Jo-yü — Chairman of ACFTU; standing committee NPC; CPPCC National Committee; member of CPPG and NIEA; has traveled extensively outside Communist China.

LAO She (aka SHU She-yü, SHU Ch'ing-ch'un and LAU Shaw) — India FA; ACRFC board of directors; ACFLAC; Union of Chinese Writers; Peking SSFA leader; member APPLC.

LEE Ssu-kuang (LEE Jonquei) — See LI Ssu-kuang.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

LEI Chieh-ch'iung (f) — CAPD board of directors; WIDF; member of good will mission to France 1954; attended World Congress of Women in Denmark 1953; executive committee of ACDWF; PSLA board of directors; CPC National Committee.

LEI Jen-min — PIFA; ACFICA; ICPT; Vice Minister of Foreign Trade; vice chairman of CCPIT Central Committee; member trade delegation to Japan 1955.

LI Chen — CPPCC.

LI Chi-shen — CPPCC; chairman KMTRC; vice chairman SSFA; NPC Standing Committee; CPPG Executive Committee.

LI Chieh-po — See LI Hsieh-po.

LI Chu ch'en — Vice chairman CDNCA; CPPG; vice chairman CCPIT; SSFA; ACFICA; CPPCC National Committee; member ASC; CPC National Committee; delegate to WPC Vienna 1952; member peace delegation to Stockholm June 1954; headed trade mission to Japan 1955; member trade delegation to Australia, Central and South America 1956.

LI CHU Po-shan — CPPCC.

LI Ch'un-ch'ing (LI Shun-ch'ing) — Executive committee CPPG; vice chairman TDSGL; standing committee CPPCC; member ACFJ; PIFA board of directors; on delegation to IPU Helsinki 1955; delegate to WPC Berlin 1955; journalist.

LI Chun-wu (LI Chan-wu) — CRC; ACRFC board of directors; coadjutor for State Bureau of Religious Affairs.

LI Fei-kan — See PA Chin.

LI Hsiang-fu — CDL Central Committee, ACFDY.

LI Hsieh-po (LI Chieh-po) (LI Chi-p'o) — ACRFC board of directors; ACFTU secretariat; WFTU; former head of Chinese Railway Workers' Union; head of trade union delegation to India 1954; attended several ECAFE sessions as WFTU observer; member of NPC; attended Asian Conference in New Delhi, April 1955; traveled widely in Communist countries.

LI I — CSS.

LI I-mang — CPPG; ACRFC board of directors; WPC secretariat; CPPG; member ASC; delegate to IPU conference Helsinki 1955; delegate to American Continental Congress of Culture in Santiago, Chile, 1953; member cultural delegation to India and Burma 1951.

SECRET  
NOFORN / CONTINUED CONTROL

- LI P'ing-ch'uan — IOJ; ACFJ; assistant to director of International Department of NCNA.
- LI Po-ch'iu — CDL Central Committee; CPWDP.
- LI Shih-chün — WPC; KMTRC Central Committee.
- LI Shu (see Jamal-al-din LI Shu).
- LI Shun-ch'ing (LI Chun-ch'ing) — TDSGL; CPPG.
- LI Ssu-kuang (Lee Jonquei) — Chairman ACFSS; vice chairman of CPPCC and SSFA; ADSTK; CPPG Executive Committee; CPC Standing Committee; Minister of Geology; vice chairman WFSW; vice chairman of Scientific Planning Committee of State Council.
- LI Te-ch'üan (f) (Mme. FENG Yu-hsiang) — WIDF; ACDWF; WPC; Minister of Public Health; CPC National Committee; ASC; ACRFC board of directors; Japan FA; Italy FA; CPPCC Central Committee; KMTRC Central Committee; SSFA; member of cultural, friendship, peace women's and Red Cross groups visiting non-Communist countries 1950-1956; member Scientific Planning Committee of State Council.
- LI T'ieh-min — Malaya FA; vice chairman FROCA; vice chairman COCA; long connected with CDL in Malaya; CPPCC National Committee; closely associated with TAN Kah-Kee.
- LI Tsai-wen — ACFTU; WPC; delegate to WPC Vienna 1952.
- LI Tsung-en — CPPCC.
- LI Wei-han — Director of UFD; vice chairman CPPCC; secretary general of 1954 NPC; CPPC Executive Committee; member committees for drafting Constitution and election law.
- LI Wei-hsin — ACUC; Vice Minister of Commerce.
- LI Ying-chi — Member of trade group visiting non-Communist countries.
- LIANG Hsi — WFSW; ACFSS; ASC; SSFA; CSS; chairman ADSTK; CPPCC; Minister of Forestry; member Scientific Planning Committee of State Council.
- LIANG Yao — ACFC.
- LIAO Ch'eng-chih (aka HO Liu-hua) — WFDY; ACFDY; ACRFC board of directors; WPC; vice chairman of CPC; ASC; SSFA; UFD; CPPG; Indonesia FA; Japan FA; Pakistan FA; APPLC; member PIFA board of directors; member CCP Central Com-

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- mittee; Standing Committee NPC; member of many delegations to Communist and non-Communist countries.
- LIN Feng — CPPG; NIEA; NPC Standing Committee; director 2nd Staff Office of State Council; member CCP Central Committee.
- LIN Han-ta — WPC; secretary general NIEA; CAPD board of directors; delegate to WPC Helsinki 1955; Vice Minister of Education; delegate from Shanghai to NPC; CPC National Committee.
- LIN Peng — CPPG.
- LIN Piao — SSFA; member CCP Politburo; vice premier; vice chairman National Defense Council; member State Planning Commission.
- LIN Po-chü — SSFA; member CCP Politburo; vice chairman NPC Standing Committee; CPPCC National Committee.
- LIN Ssu-ching — CPPCC.
- LIU Ch'ang-sheng — WPC; secretary of WFTU; ACFTU; member of peace and trade union groups visiting non-Communist countries; CPC National Committee; CPPCC; NPC.
- LIU Chin-chung — PIFA.
- LIU Ch'ing-yang (f) — ACDWF executive committee; CDL Central Committee; member of women's groups visiting non-Communist countries; attended WPC Helsinki, June 1955; SSFA executive board; CPPCC National Committee.
- LIU Ch'un — Nepal FA; CPWDP Central Committee; CPPCC member; vice chairman Nationalities Affairs Commission of CPG.
- LIU Hsi-yüan — ACFDY; CNDYL secretariat; CPPCC.
- LIU Jui-lung — Member agricultural delegation to Burma 1955; Vice Minister of Agriculture; active in land reform.
- LIU K'o-p'ing — Pakistan FA; ASC; CISA; deputy director UFD; chairman of the Association on Moslem Culture; vice chairman Nationalities Affairs Commission; NPC Standing Committee.
- LIU Kuan-i — ACRFC board of directors; CPC; WPC; ASC; delegate NPC 1954; delegate to WPC in 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, and 1956.

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LIU Meng-shun — CPPCC.

LIU Ning-i — WPC Executive Committee; CPC; WFTU vice president since 1951; ACFTU; member CCPIT Central Committee; ICPT; ASC; secretary general of APPLC; ACRFC board of directors; Japan FA; ACSF; vice chairman of SSFA; member of trade union and peace groups visiting non-Communist countries; attended meeting Britain-China FA November 1950; attended most of conferences of WFTU since 1946 and of WPC since 1949.

LIU Pai-yü — Union of Chinese Writers; ACRFC board of directors; India FA.

LIU Shao-pao — CRC.

LIU Ssu-mu — ACFSS; deputy director, International Relations Institute of Academy of Sciences.

LIU Tao-sheng — ACFDY; WFTU; YCL Standing Committee; delegate to NPC 1954.

LIU Tsun-ch'i — ACFJ.

LIU Tzu-chiu — ACFTU; member CCPIT Central Committee; headed trade union delegation to Burma in February 1955; CPC National Committee; delegate to NPC 1954; CPPCC member.

LIU Wang Li-ming — President, Women's Temperance Union of China; attended 1956 conference of World Association of School Women.

LO Ch'iung (f) — ACDWF secretariat; delegate to NPC 1954; CPPCC member; member delegation to WPC, Vienna, December 1953; WIDF.

LO I — YCL.

LO Li-shih — FROCA.

LO Lung-chi — WPC; vice president PIFA; CDL; CPPCC International Affairs Section; SSFA; NPC Standing Committee; CPC National Committee; Minister of Timber Industry.

LO Shu-chang (f) — CDNCA; CPPCC; Vice Minister of Labor; delegate to NPC 1954; ACFICA Executive Committee; ACDWF Executive Committee; CPC National Committee; members of women's delegation to India, December 1956.

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LU Han — CPPCC; KMTRC Central Committee; CPPCC Standing Committee; National Defense Council.

LU P'ing — CPPCC; YCL Central Committee; Vice Minister of Railways; member SSFA; ACFDY leader.

LU Ts'ui (Mme. JAO Shu-shih) (f) — WIDF; head of International Liaison Department of ACDWF; WPC; CPPCC National Committee; CPC National Committee; SSFA International Liaison Department; WFDY; active in international youth, women's, and peace front organizations since 1947. Due to purge of JAO Shu-shih her present status in these positions is in doubt.

MA Chen-wu — CISA.

MA Ha Wai-yung — Egypt FA; CISA.

MA Han-ping — ACRFC board of directors; CISA.

MA Hsü-lun — CDL; CAPD; SSFA; ACSF; CPPG Executive Committee; CPPCC Standing Committee; CPC National Committee.

MA Ming-chi — CISA.

MA Yin-ch'u — WPC; CPPG; vice chairman SSFA; economist; president Peiping University; member CCPIT Central Committee; member ACRFC board of directors; CPPCC; NPC Standing Committee; member of board of directors of Bank of China; CPC National Committee; member Academy of Sciences.

MA Yueh-han — ACSF.

MA Yü-huai (aka Yusuf MA Yü-huai) — Indonesia FA; CISA; ACRFC Standing Committee.

MAO Ch'i-hua — ACFTU secretary general; Vice Minister of Labor.

MAO I-sheng (aka MAO, Eason, and Thomson E. MAO) — Italy FA; ACFSS; ADSTK; CPPCC; director of Railway Research Institute of China National Railways; member Academy of Sciences; NIEA; member of cultural groups visiting non-Communist countries; former secretary of Shanghai Municipal Government.

MAO Tun (aka SHEN Yen-ping) — ACRFC board of directors; WPC; ASC; ACFLAC; Union of Chinese Writers.



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- MEI I — ACRFC board of directors; ACFLAC; ACFJ vice president; reported president International Broadcasting Organization (OIR) 1953; chief Broadcasting Administration Bureau of State Council.
- MEI Kung-pin (MEI Tien-lung) — ASC; ACFDY Central Committee; KMTRC; CPPCC.
- MEI Lan-fang — ACRFC board of directors; ACFLAC; member of cultural groups visiting non-Communist countries.
- MENG Yun-ch'ien — ASC; vice chairman ACFICA; WPC; ACFC; member CCPIT Central Committee; SSFA executive board; director of International Relations Institute of Academy of Sciences.
- MIN Kang-hou — IADL; PSLA; CDL Central Committee; Vice Minister of Justice.
- NAN Han-ch'en — ICPT; ACFICA; CDNCA; chairman CCPIT; member ASC; member IPU delegation 1955; NPC Standing Committee; chairman board of directors of Bank of China; member parliamentary groups to Finland August 1955.
- NENG Hai — ASC; CBA.
- NI Fei-chun (f) — WIDF; ACRFC board of directors; ASC; Burma FA.
- Nur Mohammed (see TA P'u-sheng).
- OU T'ang-liang (f) — WFDY; ACFDY; ACRFC board of directors; SSFA executive board; YCL Standing Committee; CPC National Committee; delegate to NPC 1954.
- OU Yang Yü-ch'ien — ACRFC board of directors; ACFLAC; member of cultural groups visiting non-Communist countries; vice chairman Union of Chinese Writers; CPPCC member; SSFA; president of Central Theatrical Institute of China.
- PA Chin (aka PAI Chien and LI Fei-kan) — ASC; Union of Chinese Writers; USSR-trained anarchist; vice chairman Shanghai Peace Committee; ACFLAC National Committee; WPC delegate 1950.
- PAI Hsi-ch'ing — See PAI Shi-ch'ing.
- PAI Lang (f) — WIDF; ACDWF Executive Committee; ASC; deputy to NPC; ACFLAC National Committee; Union of Chinese Writers Executive Committee; delegate to Asian Writers Conference, New Delhi, December 1956.

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PAI Shi-ch'ing (PAI Hsi-ch'ing) (PAI Ch'i-ch'ing) — WCD; ACRFC Standing Committee; ACAMS; probably identical with vice chief of Peking Institute of Health.

PAI Shou-i — ACRFC board of directors; Indonesia FA.

P'AN Kuang-tan (aka Quentin PAN) — CPPCC; CDL Central Committee.

PAO Erh-han (see BURHAN).

P'ENG Chen — CPPCC; CPC; chairman of CPPG; member of parliamentary groups visiting non-Communist countries; mayor Peking; APPLC; member CCP Politburo; SSFA; holds many government and CCP positions.

P'ENG Tse-min — Malaya FA; CPWDP; CDL Central Committee; FROCA. (Deceased October 1956.)

SA K'ung-liao (SAI Kung-liao) — ACRFC board of directors; CDL Central Committee; ACFDY Executive Committee; member board of directors NCNA; vice chairman Nationalities Affairs Commission.

SAIFUDIN (SAI Fu-ting) — ASC; SSFA; CPPG; ACRFC board of directors; vice chairman Standing Committee NPC; national committee CPC; India FA.

SHA Ch'ien-li — CDL Central Committee; ACFICA; CPPCC; Minister of Light Industry; CDNCA Central Committee; board of directors Bank of China; national committee CPC.

SHAO Ch'uan-lin — Union of Chinese Writers.

SHAO Li-tzu (SHAO Feng-shou, SHAO Men-t'ai) — WPC, SSFA, KMTRC Central Committee; PIFA board of directors; CPPCC Standing Committee; member COCA; national committee CPC.

SHAO Tsung-han — ACRFC board of directors; CDL Central Committee; ACFJ.

SHEN Chün-ju (SHEN Heng-shan) — Vice chairman IADL; PSLA; SSFA; CDL Central Committee; vice chairman CPPCC; CPPG Executive Committee; vice chairman NPC; national committee CPC.

SHEN K'o-fei — ACAMS.

SHEN Po-shun — CPPCC.

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SHEN Tuan-hsien (see HSIA Yen).

SHEN Tzu-chiu (f) — Member of secretariat of ACDWF; wife of HU Yü-chih; CDL Central Committee; national committee CPPCC; national committee CPC; board of directors NCNA; former leader in Malaya CDL.

SHEN Yen-ping (MAO Tun) — SSFA; chairman Union of Chinese Writers; vice chairman ACFLAC; ACRFC board of directors; CPPG Executive Committee; headed 1951-1952-1953-1954 and 1955 delegations to WPC; ASC member; standing committee CPPCC; WPC executive board; vice chairman CPC; Minister of Culture.

SHENG P'ei-hua — CDNCA; vice chairman ACFICA; member CCPIT Central Committee; CPPCC Standing Committee; board of Supervisors Bank of China; SSFA and CPC leader in Shanghai; vice mayor of Shanghai.

Shiekh Nur Mohammed (See TA P'u-sheng).

SHIH Chung-pen (aka SHIH Chiang-pen) — ACFS; IUS; delegate to Student Conference, Bandung, May 1956.

SHIH Fu-liang (SHIH Ts'un-t'ung) — Vice chairman CDNCA; executive committee ACFICA; standing committee CPPCC; national committee CPC; SSFA.

SHIH Ju-chang (f) — ASC; ACFDY Central Committee.

SHIH Liang (f) — Standing committee CDL; ACDWF; member women's delegation to India, December 1956; Minister of Justice; CPPCC Standing Committee; CPC Executive Committee; SSFA Executive Committee; PSLA board of directors; delegate WPC 1952; Minister of Justice; alternate member WIDF Executive Committee 1948; member women's delegation to India, December 1956.

Shirob Galtso (Hsi-jao-chia-ts'o) — CBA; India FA.

SHU Ch'ing-ch'un (see LAO She).

SHU Hsu-ch'ing — See SHU Tzu-ch'ing.

SHU Hsu-tung — See SHU Tzu-ch'ing.

SHU She-yü (see LAO She).

SHU Tzu-ch'ing (SHU Hsu-tung, SHU Hsu-ch'ing, HSU Tzu-ch'ing) — CCPIT; vice director, Bureau of Export, Ministry

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of Foreign Trade; India FA; represented overseas Chinese in India on NPC 1954; ICTP delegate.

SOONG Ching-ling (Mme. SUN Yat-sen) — WPC; APPLC; CPC; WIDF; CPPG Executive Committee; ACDWF; vice chairman SSFA; Pakistan FA; member of cultural and other groups visiting non-Communist countries; NPC Standing Committee.

SU Ching-kuang — ACAMS; CPPCC National Committee; ACFSS Standing Committee; Vice Minister of Health; was a delegate to World Congress of Physicians, Vienna 1953.

SUN Ch'eng-pei — CSS.

SUN Ch'i-meng — CDNCA secretary general; vice chairman study committee of CPPCC; deputy chief 8th Staff Office of State Council; deputy secretary general NPC; ACFICA Standing Committee; CPC National Committee; former Vice Minister of Personnel of CPG.

SUN Fu-ling — ACFDY; deputy secretary general of Peking branch of CPC; signed cultural/economic exchange agreement with Japanese delegation 11 January 1957.

SUN Hsiao-ts'un — CDNCA Executive Committee; ACRFC board of directors; member ASC; board of directors Bank of China; member CPPCC; connected with SSFA and CDNCA in Peking.

SUN Shou-chu — ACFS.

SUNG Hsi-heng — ACFS.

TA P'u-sheng (aka Shiekh Nur Mohammed) — Egypt FA; Indonesia FA; CISA; CPPCC; member of religious groups visiting non-Communist countries.

TAI Hsiao-tung — All China Federation of Cooperatives.

TAN Chun-mei — CPPCC.

TAN Kah-kee (CH'EN Chia-keng) — Malaya FA; FROCA; vice chairman CPPG; NPC Standing Committee; CPPCC vice chairman; board of governors Bank of China; member COCA; member CPC; SSFA; formerly active among Overseas Chinese in Singapore.

T'ANG Ming-chao — WPC; ACRFC board of directors; ASC.

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- TENG Ch'en-hsi — All China Federation of Cooperatives; CCPIT trade arbitration committee; member delegation ACFC to Scandinavia, May 1956.
- TENG Pao-shan — KMTRC Central Committee; member National Defense Council; chairman Kausu CPC and SSFA; member CPPCC.
- TENG T'o — ACRFC board of directors; IOJ; ACFLAC; editor *People's Daily*; president of ACFJ; Vice Minister of Light Industry; member State Planning Commission; SSFA executive board; Burma FA.
- TENG Ying-ch'ao (f) (Mme. CHOU En-lai) — WIDF; ACDWF; SSFA Executive Committee; CPC National Committee; APPLC delegate 1952; delegate to WPC, Warsaw 1950; member CCP Central Committee.
- TENG Yu-chih — Secretary General, Chinese YMCA National Committee.
- T'IENT Han — ACRFC board of directors; standing committee of ACFLAC; on executive committee of Union of Chinese Writers; chairman of Union of Chinese Dramatists.
- T'IENT Te-min — ACRFC board of directors; IUS; WFDY; ACFDY Central Committee; ACFS; delegate to various student conferences; YCL Central Committee.
- TING Hsi-lin (TING Hsieh-lin) — ACRFC; chairman India FA; ASC; ADSTK; SSFA executive board; CPPCC National Committee; physicist; Vice Minister of Culture; headed cultural delegation to India and Burma 1951.
- TING Kuei-tang (Bishop K. H. TING, TING Kuang-hsun) — CRC; headed delegation to Lambeth Convocation, London, July 1956.
- TING Ling (f) (CHIANG Ping-chih) — WPC; WIDF; ACDWF; ACRFC board of directors; member ASC; SSFA executive board; vice chairman Union of Chinese Writers; member CPPCC; ACFLAC Standing Committee; delegate to WPC Paris 1949 and to WIDF Moscow 1949.
- TING Ts'an — ACFSS.
- TING Ts'ung — ACFDY.
- TING Yu-chang — CRC.

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T'o-hu-ti-ai-li — ACFS.

TS'AI Ch'ang (Mme. LI Fu-ch'un) (f) — Chairman ACDWF; CPC National Committee; ACFTU Executive Committee; SSFA executive board; CPPCC National Committee; vice chairman WIDF.

TS'AI T'ing-k'ai — WPC; KMTRC; SSFA executive board; CPPCC Standing Committee; member National Defense Council; CPC National Committee; member COCA; former chairman CAPD; attended WPC conferences since 1950.

TS'AO Kuan-ch'un — ACDWF.

TS'AO Meng-chün (f) (Mme. WANG K'un-lun) — ACDWF; ACRFC board of directors; WIDF; ASC; member of many women's groups visiting non-Communist countries; SSFA executive board; CPPCC National Committee; national committee CPC.

TS'AO Yü (aka WU Chia-pao and WAN Chia-pao) — ACRFC board of directors; Union of Chinese Writers; WPC; member of peace groups visiting non-Communist countries; member CPC; ACFLAC National Committee; China-Burma FA.

TSENG Chao-lun (TSENG Chao-ssu, Chiu-sam Tsang) — CDL Central Committee; ACFSS; represents educational circles in CPPCC; member NPC budget committee; Vice Minister of Higher Education; SSFA executive board; director general office CPC; chemical engineer; member of Academy of Sciences.

TSENG Hsien-chih (f) — ACDWF.

TSENG Shan — ACFC; national committee CPPCC; deputy head 5th Staff Office of State Council; former Minister of Commerce; member CCP Central Committee; SSFA.

TSOU Te-hsin (f) — WIDF; ACDWF; member of women's groups visiting non-Communist countries.

TS'UI Hsien-hsiang (Dr. H. H. TSUI) — CRC.

TS'UI Yüeh-li — Member national committee and deputy secretary general CPC; delegate to WPC Berlin 1951; UFD Peking; secretary general Peking CPPCC.

T'U Ch'ang-wang — ACRFC board of directors; WFSW; ACFSS; CSS; director of Central Bureau of Meteorology; secretary of Academy of Sciences; active in SSFA and ADSTK.

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TU Chung-hai — CPPCC.

TU Yu-ching — General secretary of national committee of YMCA of China.

TUNG Chün-ts'ai — NIEA; Vice Minister of Education; headed cultural delegation to Eastern Europe 1952.

TUNG Hsin — ACFTU; YCL Central Committee; ACFDY National Committee; member CPPCC; member trade union delegations to Italy, February 1956 and to Japan in November 1956.

TUNG Hsueh-lung — ACFS.

TUNG Pi-wu — Chairman PSLA; CCP Politburo; vice chairman CPPCC; SSFA executive board; president of the Supreme Court.

TUNG Shou-i — ACSF; representative to Melbourne Olympic Games 1956.

TUNG Yüeh-ch'ien — ACRFC board of directors; Burma FA; director Department of International Organizations and Conferences, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; PIFA board of directors; delegate to WPC Vienna 1952.

ULAN (f) — See WU Lan.

ULANFU (aka WU Lan-fu and YÜN Tse) — Nepal FA; SSFA; Vice Premier; member national Defense Council; member WPC; CPC National Committee; CPPCC Standing Committee.

WAN Chia-pao — See TS'AO Yü.

WANG Chih-hsiang — Deputy Secretary General CSS.

WANG Ch'uan-pin — WFDY; ACFDY.

WANG Hsin-yüan — Member delegation to Leipzig International Fair, February 1955; CPPCC National Committee; CDNCA Standing Committee; SSFA executive board; Vice Minister of Light Industry.

WANG K'un-lun — ACFDY Central Committee; PSLA; KMTRC Central Committee; Vice Mayor of Peking; SSFA executive board; NPC Standing Committee; CPPCC Study Committee; CPC National Committee.

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- WANG Shao-ao (WANG Shao-lan) — CAPD; CPPCC Study Committee; board of directors Bank of China; SSFA executive board; member Bank of China board of directors.
- WANG Yen-chih — CPPCC.
- WANG Yuan-hsing — FROCA; represents overseas Chinese on ACFICA Executive Committee.
- WANG Yün-sheng — IOJ; ACRFC board of directors; ACFLAC; WPC; ACFJ; member of peace groups visiting Japan August 1956.
- WEI Ch'üeh — ACSF; deputy to NPC; CPC National Committee; member CPPCC; Vice Minister of Education.
- WEI Hsi — ACAMS; bacteriologist; ACFSS National Committee.
- WEN Shih-chen — CCPIT.
- WU Ch'ao-jen — ACAMS.
- WU Chia-pao — See TS'AO Yü.
- WU Chih-li — ACAMS.
- WU Chueh-nung — Deputy secretary general CPPCC; vice chief of ADSTK delegation to USSR 1954; ACFSS National Committee; delegate to WPC Vienna 1951; CDNCA Standing Committee.
- WU Han — India FA, ACFDY, CDL Central Committee, member of various cultural groups visiting non-Communist countries; CPPCC.
- WU Hsiu-ch'üan — Vice chairman ASC; member NIEA; PIFA board of directors; Ambassador to Yugoslavia.
- WU Hsüeh-ch'ien (WU Hsüeh-chieh) — WFDY; ACRFC board of directors; YCL Central Committee and director of YCL International Liaison Department; ACFDY National Committee; member ACSF; member of youth group visiting Belgium and France in 1955-1956.
- WU Hua-chih — ACRFC; secretary general of India FA.
- WU Hung-pin — ASC; CDL Central Committee.
- WU I-fang — CRC; NPC delegate; in charge of general education for Kiangai Province; vice chairman of national committee of Protestant Churches in China.



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WU K'o-chien — CPPG; deputy secretary general of NPC.

WU Lan (Ulan) (f) — WIDF; ACDWF Executive Committee; WPC delegate; a Mongol.

WU Lan-fu (see ULANFU).

WU Leng-hsi — ACFJ; ACRFC board of directors; ACFLAC; PIFA board of directors; director NCNA; delegate WCP Vienna 1952.

WU Liang-yung — CPPCC.

WU Mao-sun (Mason WOO, WU Mao-sung) — WPC; ACRFC board of directors; secretary general of PIFA; KMTRC; CPPG; deputy secretary general CPC; national committee ACFDY; China-India FA.

WU Te-feng — Vice chairman PSLA; IADL; deputy chief 1st Staff Office of State Council.

WU Wen-t'ao — ACRFC board of directors; IOJ; ASC; ACFJ; Union of Chinese Writers.

WU Yao-tsung (Y. T. WU) — WPC; ASC; ACRFC board of directors; ACFDY; ACFSS; chairman of National Committee of Protestant Churches in China; CPC National Committee; CRC; standing committee of CPPCC; member of peace and religious groups visiting non-Communist countries; SSFA executive board; NPC Standing Committee; delegate to World Peace Congresses since 1950.

WU Yü-chang — SSFA; ACFSS; NIEA; president Chinese People's University; member CCP Central Committee; NPC Standing Committee; ACFTU Executive Committee; ADSTK; member of CPC; member Academy of Sciences.

WU Yu-hsün (WU Ho-shiung) — ACFSS; CPPCC National Committee; CPC National Committee; SSFA Shanghai branch; vice chairman Academy of Sciences; physicist; leader in Red Cross Society of China.

YANG Ching-jen (see YANG Tsing-jen).

YANG Han-sheng (OU-YANG Chi-hsiu, Hua Han) — ACRFC; ACFLAC secretary general; Indonesia FA; member ASC; executive committee of Union of Chinese Writers; NCNA board of directors; member CPPCC; CPC National Committee; chairman All China Association of Cinema Workers.

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YANG Hsi-wen — CPPCC.

YANG Ibrahim — See YUSSUF MA Hwai.

YANG Kang (f) — ACFJ; ACFDW.

YANG Tsing-jen (Ibrahim YANG) (YANG Ching-jen) — Vice chairman CISA; Pakistan FA; member CPPCC; Moslem.

YANG Yi-chih — CCPIT.

YAO I-lin — ACFC; Vice Minister of Commerce; CDNCA Central Committee.

YAO K'o-fang — WCD; ACAMS; member of medical group visiting England April 1956.

YEH Tu-i — Central Committee CDL; deputy secretary general of CPPCC.

YEN Ching-ching — Vice chairman of ACAMS; member of medical group visiting England April 1956.

YEN Chi-tz'u — CSS Central Committee; ACFSS; head of staff office of Academy of Sciences; physicist; attended WPC 1950.

YEN Hsi-chün (YEN Hsi-shun) — Deputy secretary general of CKT; CPPCC National Committee; member CPC National Committee.

YEN Ku-hsing — All China Federation of Cooperatives.

YEN Pao-hang — Deputy secretary general SSFA; chairman Treaty Committee of Ministry of Foreign Affairs; CPPCC National Committee; CPC National Committee.

YEN Tzu-chun — FROCA.

YEN Wen-ching — India FA; member Union of Chinese Writers.

YÜ Hsin-ch'ing — KMTRC Central Committee; ACRFC board of directors; deputy secretary general NPC; CPC National Committee; member CPPCC National Committee.

YÜ Huan-ch'eng — CDNCA.

YÜ I-fu — Deputy chief CPPCC Study Committee; vice director United Front Department of CCP; has held many CCP posts; represents Harbin as delegate to NPC; active in SSFA and CPC.

YU K'o-ch'ien — CCPIT; member of trade group to Paris in May 1956 and to the Netherlands July 1956.

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YU She-te — ACFC.

YU Yang-tsu — FROCA.

YÜAN Han-ch'ing — CSS Central Committee; secretary general of ADSTK; CPPCC; chemist; member of Academy of Sciences; ACFDY National Committee; member ACFSS; active in SSFA; member Nationalities Affairs Commission of CPG; editor-in-chief of Commercial Press, Shanghai.

YÜAN Yung-hsi — ACFS.

YÜN Tse ( see ULANFU).

YUSSUF MA Hwai (Ibrahim YANG, MA Yü-huai) — Indonesia FA; Egypt FA; CISA; member of religious groups visiting various non-Communist countries; president China Institute of Islamic Theology.

Yusuf MA Yü-huai (see YUSSUF MA Hwai).

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